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Matthew's Messianic Shepherd-King

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Matthew's Messianic Shepherd-King

In Search of 'The Lost Sheep of the House of Israel'

Preface

The present monograph is a revised version of the thesis submitted to Cambridge University for the degree of Ph.D. Perhaps the most important lesson learned in the four years of working on this thesis surprisingly relates not to Matthew's use of the Messianic Shepherd-King motif. Rather, it is the principle that scholarship is best done in community. The present work would not have been possible had it not been for the community that surrounded me these four years. In view of this, I would like to express my gratitude to those who have made my research possible.

First, I wish to thank Prof. Markus Bockmuehl who so ably supervised my dissertation. I could not have wished for a more insightful guide in this process. Prof. Bockmuehl proved to be an invaluable tutor for me through the first three years of my research before going on Sabbatical in the final year. He issued me a stiff challenge in the early weeks of undertaking the Ph.D. and I trust that this dissertation shows that his exhortation fell on fertile soil. In addition, I need to thank Dr. Peter Head who has been an encouragement throughout my research, but in this last year has supervised the final stages of the project. Both of these men have left an indelible imprint on me both as a Christian and as a scholar, and have assisted me in producing a much better piece of work. Whatever weaknesses this thesis has can only be credited to me, but the strengths are in no small part the result of their influence.

In addition, I would like to thank my two examiners Dr. Paul Foster (University of Edinburgh) and Dr. James Carleton Paget (Cambridge), whose careful reading of the thesis produced a few significant recommendations which improved the argument of the thesis.

Another word of thanks must go to Tyndale House Cambridge where I conducted the bulk of my research. Along with many, I have a deep sense of gratitude to those who had the vision for such a useful centre for biblical research. It was here that I learned that scholarship is best conducted in community. Not only did Tyndale House provide a research facility that is second to none for biblical studies, but also it provided the opportunity to foster deep friendships.

I wish also to thank Prof. Herman Lichtenberger for not only hosting me as a visiting graduate student for the 2003–04 winter semester in Tübingen, but also encouraged me to submit the thesis to BNZW for publication. Prof. Lichtenberger has remained generous and supportive.

      Finally, I would like to express my deepest gratitude to Scot McKnight, Boaz Johnson and Brad Nassif, the faculty of the Biblical and Theological Studies department at North Park University. I have so greatly enjoyed the collegiality we have shared in my first year of teaching. North Park is perhaps the best kept secret in Evangelical Christian Higher Education and I am so thankful to have the privilege of calling it home.

      I want to dedicate this book to my wife Karla and to our twin newborns Mary Rachel and Zion David Willitts. They are my greatest earthly treasures. Karla's faith in God and her "down-to-earthness" kept me centred through the Ph.D. process. Furthermore, the birth of these two babies, not unlike the publication of this monograph, brings to a conclusion a long journey of faith as well as signifies a new chapter in my life.

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Abbreviations and Citations

Abbreviations follow the listing given in Patrick H. Alexander et al., eds., *The SBL Handbook of Style For Ancient Near Eastern, Biblical, and Early Christian Studies* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1999).

Citations in this dissertation are in the form of *Author Date*. Full details can be found in the bibliography.

Biblical citations are taken from K Elliger and W. Rudolph, eds., *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1967); and Nestle and Aland 1993. All English citations of the Bible are from the *NRSV* unless specified otherwise.

Septuagint citations are taken from Joseph Ziegler, ed., *Septuaginta Vetus Testamentum Graecum*, vol. 16 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1939); and the English translation is from Lancelot C. L. Brenton, *The Septuagint with Apocrypha: Greek and English* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1986).

Targum citations are taken from Alexander Sperber, *Bible in Aramaic*, vol. 3 (Leiden: Brill, 1962); the English translation of the Targum is from Kevin J. Cathcart et al., eds., *The Aramaic Bible* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark).

Dead Sea Scroll citations of both Hebrew and English are taken from Florentino García Martínez and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* (Leiden: Brill, 1997) unless otherwise noted.

Chapter One

Introduction

"The book of the genealogy of Jesus Christ,
the son of David, the son of Abraham"
Matthew 1:1

With these words, the Gospel of Matthew commences. From the very outset, the bias of the author is clear: Jesus of Nazareth is none other than Israel's long-awaited Messianic King. The short epitaph with its four titles seems to succinctly sum up the messiology of the entire gospel.[1] Among the fundamental presuppositions of the author of the First canonical Gospel are the twin affirmations of Jesus as both the Messiah and the descendent of David. While to some these titles might appear to be the same thing, given the variegated views of Messianism in the first century, *Davidic* Messianism must be treated as *a kind* of Messianic expectation. These days, in light of recently discovered ancient evidence, scholars generally define a "Messianic figure" as *any* Jewish eschatological redemptive personage: Davidic, prophetic, priestly or otherwise.[2] Davidic Messianism, then, can be contrasted, for example, with the priestly Messianism known from Qumran.[3] In contrast, a distinguishing characteristic of the Davidic Messiah is that he functions primarily as a national leader, albeit under the authority of the priesthood and perhaps the remnant.[4]

In recent years scholars have taken greater notice of the formative nature of the Davidic identity of Jesus in Matthew. For instance, W. D. Davies recently stated:

> Of all the New Testament writers it is Matthew who most emphasizes that Jesus is of Davidic ancestry ... it was apparently Matthew's most characteristic designation for the earthly Jesus, the Messiah.[5]

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1 See likewise Carter 2005.
2 See the important discussions by Chester 1991:18; Collins 1995:12; Oegema 1998:20–27; cf. also approvingly Freyne 2000:232.
3 See more discussion see among others Collins 1995:74–95; Evans 2000, 2000; Vanderkam and Flint 2002:265–67.
4 See treatment by Collins 1995:49–73 with my own (2006).
5 Davies 1992:500; see also Carter 2005; Verseput 1986:22–35, 1995.

Yet, only a minority have been willing to expose the political connotations within Matthew's narrative resulting from his forthright Davidic Messianism. D. Verseput along these lines has asserted: "Seemingly unaffected by the inevitable *political* implications, the First Evangelist opens his narrative by establishing the indefeasible right of Jesus Messiah to the throne of Israel".[6] And in an earlier work he claimed:

> Matthew has placed the Davidic Messiahship at the heart of his presentation. This for him is of central importance. It determines the dynamic of the gospel's plot, it explains the mission of Jesus, and it remains of confessional validity.[7]

In concert with Verseput's sentiments here, scholars have rightly argued that the Gospel's early statements and opening narratives exercise interpretive control over the rest of the story. W. Carter, for example, draws from the literary theory of M. Perry and stresses the "primacy effect" of the Gospel text. This concept states the rather obvious point that "material located at the beginning of the Gospel shapes its audience's expectations, understandings, and questions throughout the whole of the work".[8] Very recently, B. Repschinski took a similar tack in addressing the meaning of Matthew 1:21. Of his approach, he writes, "For this reason it is necessary to go back to the beginning of the Gospel to see how the christology presented at the outset of Matthew's story of Jesus prepares a road map for the reader".[9] From the standpoint of the primacy effect, Matthew's Davidic Messianism becomes *the* determinative factor for understanding the complete literary work. In other words, the Messianic tradition centred on David is the matrix of Matthew's Gospel.

Given the centrality of the Davidic and messianic identity of the Matthean Jesus with its political-national implications and the formative character of Davidic Messianism for the whole of the Gospel, it is proper, although uncommon, to ask how this concrete[10]-political Davidic expectation might affect one's understanding of particular elements within the narrative. This more material and political approach has fuelled the recent interest in the theme of Matthew and Empire as scholars have criticised former approaches to Matthew that were shot-through with assumptions inappropriate to the ancient world. Carter points out this pervasive assumption of much of a previous generation of scholarship when he states:

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6   Verseput 1995:102, emphasis added.
7   Verseput 1986:35.
8   Carter 2001:76; cf. also Carter 2005; Perry 1979–80; Russell and Winterbottom 1972:158, 169–70.
9   Repschinski 2006:250.
10   Throughout the thesis I use the adjective "concrete" (along with synonyms "material" and "tangible") as a modifier. I take it to mean "existing in material form or as actual reality, or pertaining to that which so exists. Opposed to abstract [or spiritual]" (OED).

Matthean scholars, shaped by the contemporary separation of "religion" and "poli-
tics" and by their location in a long "spiritualizing" (and confessional) tradition of
reading Matthew, have avoided "political" interpretations of Jesus' mission.[11]

In addition to the Davidic Messiahship of Jesus and its concrete-political im-
port, another touchstone of his identity found in the opening chapters of the
Gospel is contained in the programmatic statement of Matthew 2:6. Here Mat-
thew's narrative states emphatically that Jesus is "a ruler *who is to shepherd
my people Israel*" (ὅστις ποιμανεῖ τὸν λαόν μου τὸν Ἰσραήλ). Recently,
scholars have begun to recognise the importance of shepherd imagery as a
fundamental vehicle for Matthean Christology. In a recent dissertation, Y. S.
Chae states:

> The shepherd imagery in Matthew's Gospel is certainly neither accidental nor
> merely for the sake of rhetorical effects. If Jesus can be seen as the eschatological
> Shepherd as promised in the OT tradition, then its Christological implications
> merit close attention.[12]

Evidently related to the shepherd imagery is Matthew's distinctive contribution
to the portrait of Jesus' and his disciples' mission, namely, the phrase "the lost
sheep of the house of Israel". The phrase appears in two statements of the
Matthean Jesus:

Matthew 10:5b–6	Matthew 15:24
εἰς ὁδὸν ἐθνῶν μὴ ἀπέλθητε καὶ εἰς πόλιν Σαμαριτῶν μὴ εἰσέλθητε · πορεύεσθε δὲ μᾶλλον πρὸς <u>τὰ πρό-βατα τὰ ἀπολωλότα οἴκου Ἰσραήλ</u>	ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν · οὐκ ἀπεστάλην εἰ μὴ εἰς <u>τὰ πρόβατα τὰ ἀπολωλότα οἴκου Ἰσραήλ</u>
These twelve Jesus sent out with the following instructions: "Go nowhere among the Gentiles, and enter no town of the Samaritans, but go rather <u>to the lost sheep of the house of Israel</u>".	He answered, "I was sent only to <u>the lost sheep of the house of Israel</u>".

Table 1. "The lost sheep of the house of Israel" Logia

In the present work, this phrase takes centre stage. It should not be surprising,
given what was noted by Carter above, that the expression "the lost sheep of
the house of Israel" has not been read against a political-national Davidic Mes-
sianic expectation. Yet, given the primary position of Davidic Messianism in
Matthew's Gospel, it seems apparent that the Shepherd-King tradition and the

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11   Carter 2005:157.
12   Chae 2004:5; cf. also discussion below. In the meantime the dissertation is published as a
     WUNT monograph: Chae 2006 .

phrase should be investigated within the sphere of a concrete-political Davidic Messianism.

My thesis is that the Matthean Shepherd-King motif generally and the phrase in particular are best elucidated when viewed through the lens of Davidic Messianism and the attendant political ramifications. Thus, I will address the phrase within the context of Matthew's unabashed Davidic framework. In this way, the Matthean Jesus' mission will be commensurate with the role of the new David, a role which was articulated in the prophets and was nurtured and cherished in the Second Temple period by a minority of groups of which Matthew and his community were certainly one. In addition, given Matthew's distinctively first-century Jewish eschatological perspective, I will suggest that the phrase should be read as an "every day-ish" political-national locution. This kind of reading, it will be argued, is not the result of my post-modern context where multiple readings of a text from various angles are valued and each is legitimate in its own right. Rather, this interpretation is derived from a historically situated reading of a first-century Jewish text that celebrates the appearance and activity of a political-national figure.

1.1 The Phrase in Recent Matthean Research

The purpose of this narrative of recent research on the phrase is three-fold. First, it is necessary to show the weaknesses in the treatment of the phrase in the history of recent scholarship. Second, more positively, it will be instructive to see the way in which the present study depends on the strengths of the past. Related to this is the third purpose of history of research, namely, the consideration of issues of method.

This history of research will trace the discussion of the phrase over the course of the last half century of Matthean scholarship. While the narrative is not comprehensive, it provides a representation of the key studies from the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. Through the course of the narrative three questions will asked of each work when appropriate. In each study surveyed, we are keen to know, according to the scholar: (1) from where does the phrase come (what is the phrase's provenance – Matthean or pre-Matthean), (2) to what does the phrase refer (or what does it mean?), and (3) how do they understand the relationship between the exclusive and universal statements of mission contained in Matthew?

In her 1971 article "Uncomfortable Words X. The Prohibition of Foreign Missions (Mt 10:5–6)", M. Hooker justifies her choice of this text for the theme with this comment: "The command of Jesus to his disciples to concentrate their mission upon the Jewish nation and *not* to evangelize the Gentile

world is certainly a saying which Christians are likely to find 'uncomfortable'".[13] In the brief article, she sets out to make sense of the command.

Hooker begins her discussion by briefly summarising possible explanations for the presence of the Matthew 10:5b–6 in this context. After recognizing that the "mission-charge" consists primarily of traditions Matthew presumably found in his sources (i.e. Mark's and "another account" of the Mission of the Twelve), she suggests three alternatives for Matthew's unique logion.[14] First, it is possible the statement is an "isolated saying" which Matthew placed here in connection with 9:36. Another possibility, according to Hooker, is that the logion was part of a non-Marcan version of the commissioning of the disciples which seems to lie behind Luke 9:2 and 10:3–16. This, presumably, would have been omitted by Luke for its particularistic viewpoint. The third possibility is Matthew has composed this saying in his editing of the tradition. Hooker explains the possible motivation: "[Matthew wished] to show that the disciples of Jesus were bound by the same limits as those which applied to Jesus".[15]

Hooker attends to an analysis of the logion in order to ascertain whether the saying reflects a Matthean viewpoint; in which case one might conclude that Matthew created it. We will review her discussion later, but her conclusion regarding the provenance of the saying can be summarized presently. Hooker concludes that it is unlikely Matthew created the saying in 10:5b–6, but she is ambivalent about whether it derived from a pre-Matthean source representative of a Jewish Christian community that forbade evangelisation of Gentiles or whether the saying is an authentic logion of Jesus. It appears that she leans toward the latter more than the former; the way she has structured her argument and the attention she has paid to the plausibility of just such a saying of Jesus possibly reveals her opinion.

To summarize, Hooker thinks that the saying in Matthew 10:5b–6 is not a Matthean creation, but she cannot conclude conclusively whether the statement derives from tradition or a logion of Jesus.

As for the meaning of the phrase "the lost sheep of the house of Israel", she notes the scriptural background of the phrase in Jeremiah 50:6 and Ezekiel 34:6, 11 and the importance of the sense of the genitive: whether it is to be understood partitively or explanatorily. She concludes it is the latter (i.e. the whole of Israel being regarded as "lost") because of "the contrast with non-Jews".[16] In conclusion, she remarks:

> The commissioning of the twelve disciples also implies, of course, a mission to the whole of Israel, and this is the more remarkable when it is remembered that the

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13 Hooker 1971:361.
14 See Hooker 1971:361–62.
15 Hooker 1971:362.
16 Hooker 1971:362.

nine and a half tribes of the Northern Kingdom were "lost" or scattered in a more
literal sense: the sending of the twelve apostles to the lost sheep of Israel suggests,
symbolically, the gathering together of the twelve tribes at the Eschaton.[17]

While it is difficult to know what she means by "symbolically" in this quota-
tion, the importance of her comment cannot be overestimated. Although it is
underdeveloped and only seemingly an afterthought, her reference to the lost
tribes of the Northern Kingdom is pregnant with potential importance for an
understanding of the phrase. The seeds within Hooker's observation here will
fully flower in the present thesis.

Hooker discusses the function of the so-called particularistic statements in
Matthew and their relationship to the universalism of especially Matthew
28:18–20. After surveying the passages in Matthew that speak of the "gospel
being preached to the Gentiles" (e.g. 10:18; 24:14 and 28:18–20), she states,
"It is clear from the final passage alone that any particularist notions are for-
eign to Matthew. He himself, therefore, understood the limitation on the
Twelve in 10:5f. *as temporary*".[18] For her, this is confirmed by a close reading
of Matthew 28:19. Hooker notes the importance of the conjunction οὖν in the
verse. She states,

> The clue to his understanding of the matter is given us in the concluding words of
> his gospel, where the command of Jesus is made dependent by the word οὖν on
> what precedes: "All authority in heaven and on earth has been given to me. Go
> *therefore* and make disciples ..." The ministry of Jesus was limited to Israel, and
> the work of his disciples was similarly circumscribed; but now the authority of the
> risen and ascended Lord is without bounds – and the mission of his followers is
> equally extensive ... Matthew sees the limitation of 10:5b–6 as a temporary one, no
> longer applicable in the post-resurrection situation.[19]

Hooker argues that the significance of the temporally-oriented exclusive mis-
sion to Israel in the ministry of Jesus and his disciples was an act of judgement
against Israel; it underlined Israel's guilt in their rejection of their Messiah.
Hooker comments, "it remains true that he [Matthew] understands the mission
of Jesus as limited to Israel, and underlines the guilt of Israel in failing to re-
spond – and this to a large extent comprises the so-called "Jewishness" of this
gospel".[20]

Thus, she concludes the emphasis in Matthew on the "Jews" should not be
interpreted as an inconsistency within Matthew's thinking of a particularistic
perspective over against a universalism. Instead, Hooker believes that the issue
for Matthew concerning the Jews is one of responsibility rather than privilege.
She writes, "The hour of judgment has arrived, and this is their last chance; of

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17   Hooker 1971:362, emphasis added.
18   Hooker 1971:363, emphasis added.
19   Hooker 1971:363.
20   Hooker 1971:363.

course Jesus is sent to the lost sheep of the house of Israel – and time is running out".[21]

F. Martin in 1975 wrote the most extensive study up to that time on the "Image of the Shepherd in the Gospel of Sant [sic] Matthew". His purpose was:

> To trace out the connecting links within the gospel itself of the allusions to shepherd which can be found there ... the main thrust of this analysis will be to alert the reader to one way that Mt is mediating an understanding of Jesus Christ: namely, by evoking an utilizing aspects of the image of shepherd in such a way that, *within the mind and imagination of someone sensitive to these aspects*, there is a presence in symbol of "Jesus Christ, Son of David, Son of Abraham".[22]

Methodologically, it is useful to note Martin's approach assumes that the readers for whom Matthew wrote would be "sensitive to" the image and its antecedents. Because of this, Martin asserts the "first task" of the exegete "must be to recreate for himself and others the image and word world within which these allusions are resonating ... he makes the text he is trying to interpret more immediately intelligible by letting the [modern] reader *share* the instinctive outlook of the author".[23] This commonsense approach to exegesis is similar to the approach taken in this thesis and outlined below.

Martin is quite sure that the phrase "the lost sheep of the house of Israel" did not originate from him, although he calls it a "matthean formula".[24] He says he agrees with most authors that "the logion is very old".[25] Beyond this general statement he does not think one can be certain about its place of origin. Given that the phrase is also used in Matthew 15:24 and without the injunction of 10:5b–6, Martin reasons that the expression was "an ancient floating formula and was known by Mt to be such".[26]

No specific description of the phrase "the lost sheep of the house of Israel" is provided by Martin's study. One might think he assumed that it was a reference for Israel, since he makes much of the Old Testament background of the image and the phrase. As an example, in one place he states:

> With the juxtaposition in Mt 15,22–24 of the two terms Son of David and lost sheep the Ezechielian background of the shepherd image in the first twenty chapters of Mt is caught up in the explicit theme of the Messiah ... When the Son of David will be linked to the shepherd figure in Dt-Zech it will have the complete set of resonances that Mt utilizes to mediate an understanding of Jesus' role.[27]

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21 Hooker 1971:364–65.
22 Martin 1975:270, emphasis added.
23 Martin 1975:268.
24 Martin 1975:278.
25 Martin 1975:278.
26 Martin 1975:278.
27 Martin 1975:283.

Martin also provides no discussion of the relationship between the two mission commands in Matthew's Gospel. While a specific discussion of the phrase "the lost sheep of the house of Israel" is an oversight given his research question, the omission of any discussion of Matthew 28:16–20 or other passages is outside the sphere of his research question.

In 1977, S. Brown addressed the question of the two mission commands in Matthew (Matt 10:5b–6 & 28:19) in an article called "The Two-fold Representation of the Mission in Matthew's Gospel". Brown remarks that the tension that the two missions have created in the Gospel has produced two extremes in its resolution. We have already been introduced to these, but Brown's summary is useful.

He notes that on the one hand there has been an attempt to resolve the tension by the suggestion that Matthew has simply preserved two contradictory missionary policies which were advocated in his community; the tension in the Gospel is the result of the tension in Matthew's community. Brown is quick to sideline this interpretation because of its *im*practical consequences. He believes it would have lead to a paralysis of the community with respect to its practice. He states, "Such and explanation, or rather non-explanation, of the tension ... is therefore quite incredible".[28]

The other extreme that Brown mentions is the positing of a salvation-historical scheme that supposedly underlies the theology of the Gospel such that "the tension is deliberate and the contradiction only apparent".[29] This position is strengthened by the view that the statement contained in Matthew 10:5b–6 and 15:24 is a Matthean composition. He points out the weaknesses he perceives in at least two ways this viewpoint is substantiated. The first he calls the "favoured position" view and the second, the two-stage Christology and missiology view.

It is not possible to discuss his detailed rebuttals, but his contention is that neither satisfactorily – at least from his perspective – explain why Matthew would have included in his Gospel "two such different representations of the Christian mission".[30] Brown's solution presents the only [other] possible explanation: "one view is of the mission is traditional, while the other expresses the evangelist's own voice".[31] According to Brown, if the "key to understanding the entire book" is Jesus' final mandate (which he believes it is), then it is justifiably the point at which the Evangelist's own voice is evident. Thus, the contrasting view of 10:5b–6 "must be taken to be traditional".[32] Brown then posits that this material derives from Matthew's special material with its Jew-

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28   Brown 1977:21.
29   Brown 1977:22.
30   Brown 1977:22, 25.
31   Brown 1977:25.
32   Brown 1977:25.

ish character.[33] The result of this construction is: while Matthew did not "create" the contradiction by *composing* it, he is responsible for the problem by *inserting* it.

Brown's third option is presented as the best explanation for why the particularist and universal statements of mission are present in the book. His explanation rests on the assumption that the particularist view is representative not of Matthew's view – as he has taken pains to show, but rather the view of a vocal segment of his community. So vocal – and perhaps significant – was this contingent that he could not ignore it.

Matthew presents the exclusive mission within the so-called "Central Section" as having continuing validity within his community. Matthew, then, acknowledges the authority of the exclusive mission and does not restrict it to the earthly ministry of Jesus. However, he mitigates the force of the Israel's centred mission by his placement of it within a context that clearly transcends its exclusivity with the allusion to a Gentile mission (cf. Matt 10:18). Furthermore, Brown takes the πάντα τὰ ἔθνη to include Jews as well as Gentiles thereby showing that no longer are there two missions but one universal mission: "Israel is no longer the object of a separate mission".[34] He remarks:

> The two-fold representation of the mission in Mt 10:5b–6 and 28:19 suggests neither two separate missions nor the abandonment of one mission in order to assume another. Rather, it affirms the *extension* of the mission of Matthew's community to include gentiles as the direct object of missionary instruction.[35]

Brown sees Matthew preparing his readers with a theological rationale for the one universal mission of Matthew 28:19 by providing a "separate but equal" status of the two missions in Matthew 10:18. This of course is not through abstract argumentation as one expects from Paul, but through the shaping of the narrative the Evangelist is presenting.

On the latter point, Brown provides a very useful and corrective methodological point on approaching the reading of the Gospel. He notes the modern reader's temptation to read Matthew "from the back", given the importance of the final mandate. However, he chastises readers for succumbing to this temptation since it is in the very *presentation* of the story that Matthew's theology is discerned. To read from back to front is to completely miss Matthew's theology. Brown states,

> For those reading the book today the obvious thing is the universal mission, and it is the restriction of Mt 10:5b–6 that requires explanation ... The mission with which they [original readers] believed their community to have been entrusted was

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33   Brown 1977:25–27.
34   Brown 1977:29.
35   Brown 1977:30, emphasis added.

the mission to Israel, and it was the universal mission which required an explana-
tion.[36]

This methodological point, at least with respect to the direction of reading, is
certainly correct. As will be seen shortly, this methodological approach is fun-
damental to the present thesis.

In sum, Brown asserts that the material of Matthew 10:5b–6, because of
the resulting contradiction that is created with the Evangelist's own perspec-
tive highlighted at the end of the Gospel, is traditional and not a Matthean
creation. In addition, Brown thinks that the Jewishness of the tradition con-
firms that Matthew found it among his special material. The exclusive mission
to Israel is included within Matthew's narrative because it is representative of
a strong voice within Matthew's community. In order to move the group away
from their perspective, Matthew has constructed a narrative that shows a rela-
tivizing of a separate mission to Israel. Matthew's interest in a single universal
mission motivated him to include the seemingly contradictory material. Its
placement in chapter 10 reveals that it is one of two legitimate missions: the
mission to Israel and to the Gentiles. These individual missions coalesce in the
final mission mandate of Matthew 28:19.

It is not possible to address the significant points made by Brown, yet one
can easily question how his third option is not really any more than a variation
of option two: the theological scheme. A theological scheme seems to be pre-
cisely what Brown is suggesting. Yet, it is perhaps true that his scheme is more
convincing since he rightly emphasizes the theological importance of the shape
of the narrative. In addition, his argument for the pre-Matthean origin of the
exclusive statement of 10:5b–6 in Matthew's special material, while possible,
would not convince most readers.

Furthermore, if his implicit assumption (i.e., Matthew's presentation of Je-
sus' and the disciple's mission to "the lost sheep of the house of Israel" is re-
flective of the mission practice of Matthew's present community) is not held,
then his thesis is further undermined. Thus, if Matthew was interested in the
first instance in presenting a βίος of Jesus, which contained no doubt a histori-
cally situated perspective, then Matthew would be presenting his reading of the
past and its significance for his present – not a reading of the present masked
as a presentation of the past.[37]

Brown does not undertake a study of the phrase "the lost sheep of the
house of Israel" but assumes it is a reference to "Israel" in general way. This
leads him to think that if the statement of 10:5b–6 is taken in isolation it would
consist in "an absolute prohibition against the gentile mission under any cir-
cumstances and under any auspices".[38] One would readily agree that this

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36   Brown 1977:31.
37   See more below with Lemcio 1991.
38   Brown 1977:29.

would be true, if in fact the phrase was an inclusive reference to Israel. How-
ever, Brown has not demonstrated that Matthew understands the phrase in this
way and the omission of a treatment of the identity of the group referred to by
the phrase weakens his conclusions. If it could be shown that Matthew has a
more specific group in mind, then his theological construction would be un-
dermined.

A. S. Geyser in 1980 wrote a brief but significant article, entitled rather
unimaginatively "Some Salient New Testament Passages on the Restoration of
the Twelve Tribes of Israel". As an example of the assumptions which form a
foundation for his essay the following statement is noteworthy:

> Preceded and surrounded by this ever intensifying kingdom eschatology, it is un-
> thinkable that Jesus and the first generation Judean church would have held a dif-
> ferent view. For them as for John and for Qumran, the physically restored Twelve
> Tribe Kingdom was here. They were preparing, not its coming, but themselves and
> their people for its dawn.[39]

Geyser describes the purpose of his article as an attempt to clarify some of the
New Testament passages relevant to the subject of the restoration of the
Twelve Tribes. Among the passages he addresses are Matthew 10:5b–6 and
15:24 which contain the phrase "the lost sheep of the house of Israel".

Geyser is not primarily concerned with issues of source criticism so he
does not handle in detail the question of the origin of the phrase "the lost sheep
of the house of Israel". Still, he approvingly cites H. Schürmann's view in fa-
vour of the authenticity of the Jewish particularistic Matthew 10:5b–6 agreeing
that it derives from "an earlier and already existing tradition".[40] Furthermore,
he is of the view that it is likely that in a post-70 atmosphere Mark and Luke in
writing to Gentile churches would have left it out, while Matthew "found it in
his Judean church tradition and retained it". He asserts,

> Mark and Luke were aware of the same tradition, but in that climate for obvious
> reasons decided to drop it: The inherent slight to Gentiles was objectionable, and
> besides, the Gentile churches had no interest in the restoration of a Jewish Twelve
> Tribe Kingdom.[41]

Geyser does offer a unique interpretation of the phrase. His interpretation be-
gins with a discussion of the Twelve in Matthew. He asserts the common view
that Matthew has closely linked the mission activity of the Twelve with that of
Jesus. In appointing and commissioning the Twelve, the Matthean Jesus was
"in fact delegating his personal task and authority to them ... In this capacity
they served once only as "apostles" of Jesus in Galilee, in the land of Zebulon
and Naphtali where the Exile began [Matt 4:15]".[42]

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39   Geyser 1980:306.
40   Geyser 1980:308.
41   Geyser 1980:308.
42   Geyser 1980:308–09.

In connection with this, Geyser suggests that the "lost sheep of the house of Israel" in these passages are "none other than the twelve tribes of Israel in the Diaspora".[43] He supports such a view on two points: first, he claims that at this time the majority of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin were in dispersion too; and second he asserts that Jesus adopted the sheep and shepherd imagery of the Hebrew prophets' "ingathering" prophecies to proclaim the launching process.[44]

One certainly would wish that Geyser supported his assertions with evidence, not least historical evidence to back up his claim that the majority of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin were in dispersion. This point seems to go contrary to established historical opinion on the question. Yet, of the other ten tribes, it is quite clear that first-century Jews continued to think that they were still in Exile.[45]

It is possible however, that Geyser is on to something important in his assertion that within the context of Matthew the "lost sheep of the house of Israel" has a narrower referent than the commonplace general "all Israel". Furthermore, his assertion that the choosing of the Twelve and their mission to the lost sheep of the house of Israel should be seen within the context of the "intensifying kingdom eschatology" of ancient Judaism seems right. This outlook is congruent with the comment of Hooker noted earlier concerning the implications of the sending of the twelve apostles to the lost sheep of Israel and the gathering together of the twelve tribes at the Eschaton.

Geyser does not attempt to discuss the tension between this particularistic interest of Matthew and the more universal. His article is brief and its purpose does not include such a study.

R. Gundry published his commentary on *Matthew* in 1982. I include it here because it has proven to be a formational explanation of Matthew's Gospel not least with respect to the mission of the Matthean Jesus. In his discussion of the compositional history of Matthew 10:5b–6 and more specifically the phrase "the lost sheep of the house of Israel", Gundry argues that this section of the Mission Discourse is an expansion of Luke 9:2. He suggests that the expansion "delineates the range and content of the disciple's preaching and details their healing activity".[46] He asserts further that the expansions show signs of Matthean composition. As evidence for this opinion, Gundry points to

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43   Geyser 1980:309.
44   Geyser 1980:309–10.
45   See Josephus *Ant.* 11.133.
46   Gundry 1994:184.

two observations. First, he notes the "careful balancing of parallel clauses and expressions".[47] In addition, for Gundry the diction also shows signs of composition by Matthew.[48]

The pay dirt for Gundry can be seen in his subsequent assertion that "Matthew's composition of vv. 5–8 in expanding the tradition behind Luke 9:2 rules out their origin in a Jewish Christianity opposed to evangelization of Gentiles".[49] While such a view would provide a correction to the commonplace view that the particularistic statements in Matthew are evidence of competing traditions that Matthew has included in his Gospel out of respect for his tradition, it is not clear that the points he raises can secure the conclusion Gundry commends.[50] If it could be demonstrated that the words, phrases and sentences were not merely imprinted with Matthew's influence but actually came from Matthew's own imagination, it would indeed be possible to affirm Gundry's opinion.

However, both his observations are highly disputable. There are two points to raise here. The first relates to what his observations, if taken as true, can deliver. It is seems to me that perceiving Matthew's redactional hand (or its absence) in the shaping of the Gospel does not take us behind the story to its compositional history. It seems entirely plausible that having taken something from his source Matthew rewords and reshapes it to fit into his narrative. Thus, the supposed crafting of a pericope does not imply composition from nothing. It is just as possible that Matthew is putting to pen a memory or oral tradition. The other point is perhaps more basic: does what he presents as evidence actually substantiate the point? A well-constructed story or the use of quite common terminology cannot support his conclusion, albeit an appropriate one.

Gundry understands the meaning of the phrase "the lost sheep of the house of Israel" to be a "general reference to the Jewish nation".[51] His conclusion is solidly based on the observation of its contrast with the Gentiles (10:5b). Furthermore, he provides an eschatological observation that while undeveloped, is potentially significant for the interpretation of the phrase; he states:

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47 Gundry 1994:184.
48 Gundry 1994:184. He lists several words he considers to be Matthean favourites in Matt 10:5b–8. With respect to the phrase, he lists πρόβατα, ἀπολωλότα and asserts that "'house of Israel' typifies his conforming Jesus' phraseology to the OT". In addition, he suggests that the comparison of Israel to lost sheep derives from Jer 50:6. Stanton (1993:330) argues similarly that Matt 10:6 and 15:24 represent a Matthean creation.
49 Gundry 1994:185.
50 See e.g. Moule (1981:127–28) who asserts: "Respect for the traditions, and a desire to preserve them even when they could not be fitted into the scheme, have evidently weighed heavier that the desire for consistency ... If Matthew as a collection of traditions by a Christian group who may have had a definitive defence to maintain against Jewish antagonists, but who yet were more anxious to preserve the traditions that to observe consistency everywhere, we shall perhaps be seeing it in its true light".
51 Gundry 1994:185.

The lostness of the nine and one-half northern tribes, which was supposed in some quarters during the NT era, may have sharpened the point of the metaphor. The regathering of the lost sheep heralds the messianic age of salvation.[52]

It is clear from the early comment concerning the evangelization of Gentiles that Gundry does not consider the particularistic and universal mission statements of Matthew to be at odds. For example, in his interpretation of 15:24 he suggests that the statement "has the purpose of magnifying the faith of the Gentile".[53] What is more, in his handling of 28:19, he argues that the πάντα τὰ ἔθνη in the new commission comprises Gentiles as well as Jews so that it "expands the earlier commission".[54] Thus, for Gundry the ἔθνη should be taken not as a reference to "Gentiles" but "nations".

In his 1986 Nottingham dissertation entitled *New Shepherds for Israel: An Historical and Critical Study of Matthew 9:35–11:1*, S. McKnight addresses the three questions we are tracing through the course of this brief history of research.[55] First, he takes up the question of the origin of the phrase. Based on a study of the diction of the phrase and its immediate context, McKnight concludes that 10:6 is a "Matthean redaction but rooted in tradition".[56] Further, he writes, "There is *not* sufficient evidence to credit all of 10:5–6 to MtnR even if there are data which point to his editorial activity ... it is more probable that the logia are Mtn compositions constructed upon his traditions".[57] This view seems to be highly probable and is similar to what I proposed in the discussion of Gundry above.

With respect to the question of the meaning of the phrase "the lost sheep of the house of Israel", McKnight claims that Matthew's readers would connect the phrase with the description of the people in 9:36. He states, "Thus, whereas Jesus envisioned a ministry to social outcasts, Matthew gives this logion a special twist and turns it into a ministry to those rejected by the Pharisees ... Those abused specifically by the Pharisees are the πρόβατα of Jesus".[58] In addition, he interprets the οἴκου Ἰσραήλ as a reference to the "responsive within Israel".[59] In this way, McKnight while not acknowledging it specifically takes the genitive to be partitive. The phrase "the lost sheep of the house of Israel" refers to a subset within Israel who is abused by the Pharisees and spiritually responsive to Jesus and his disciples.

The seeming tension created by restriction of mission in Matthew 10:5–6 and the universal mission of 28:16–20 takes up most of McKnight's discussion

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52   Gundry 1994:185.
53   Gundry 1994:313.
54   Gundry 1994:595.
55   McKnight 1986.
56   McKnight 1986:86.
57   McKnight 1986:87, 200–01.
58   McKnight 1986:203–04.
59   McKnight 1986:204.

of the "Geographical Limitations" in 10:5–6 and is his starting point. After sketching the major positions on 10:5–6, he lists three factors he takes as clear.[60] First, as we already noted he regards 10:5–6 as pre-Matthean and not a creation of Matthew. Second, he claims that it is "almost ineluctable" that 28:18–20 overturns the restriction of 10:5–6 thereby justifying the common view that the logion of 10:5–6 is retained due to Matthew's salvation-historical perspective. To his mind, this view is confirmed too by Matthew's "distinctive universalistic tendency" – a view similar to Brown's above. Finally, he thinks that Matthew may have had a polemical reason for adding the logion. On this final point, McKnight writes:

> Jesus and the disciples offered the kingdom to the Jews but the Jews rejected the disciples and Jesus along with, or because of, their message, on the one hand, and, on the other, now that the word of the resurrected Lord has removed the restriction and commanded a universal mission, Matt 10:5–6 reminds the reader that the Gentiles are also in the mission. Not only Israelites, but also Gentiles, are to be shepherded by the new shepherds for Israel.[61]

A.-J. Levine's 1988 monograph *The Social and Ethnic Dimensions of Matthean Salvation History* addressed Matthew 10:5b–6 and 15:24 in her attempt to find a more adequate answer to the problem of the so-called "un-Christian" and "inconsistent" statements of the Matthean Jesus.[62] Her thesis makes two primary assertions. First, Levine asserts that the origin of the limitation of the mission of the disciples to the "lost sheep of the house of Israel" was not to be found in Matthew's traditional material, and, thus, did not derive from a Jewish Christian community antithetic to the gentile mission. Second, and as an outgrowth of this, she argued that the exclusivity statement is not inconsistent with Matthean universalism, but Matthew 10:5b–6 (15:24) was "a central part of the gospel's soteriological program".[63]

Before briefly commenting on her interpretation of the phrase, the two assertions must be more thoroughly explained. Levine attends to the various arguments that have been offered in favour of positing the authenticity of the Matthew 10:5b–6 and 15:24. She addresses the weaknesses of various arguments and concludes that such a view is problematic. Furthermore, she asserts that the motivation for attributing the statements to Matthew's tradition (i.e. the restriction is antithetical to the Gospel's universalism) is removed since, to her mind, it cannot be demonstrated that the restriction is antithetical to the Gospel's universalism.[64] In support of her claim, she observes the important placement of the exclusivity logion at the opening of chapter 10 and the mission discourse as well as in the Matthean Jesus' statement of his own mission

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60 McKnight 1986:201–03.
61 McKnight 1986:202.
62 Levine 1988.
63 Levine 1988:14.
64 Levine 1988:25.

in 15:24.[65] Yet, while Levine's criticisms of previous scholarship are appropriate especially in calling attention to the underlying motivation for attributing the exclusive statements to Matthean tradition, she does not show why it is *not* just as possible that Matthew found the statements in his tradition, but also was thoroughly consistent.

Her explanation of Matthew's unified salvation-historical scheme revolves around two axes, which she called: the temporal and social. With respect to the former, she usefully began with the assumption that the exclusivity logia and the "Great Commission" (Matt 28:19–20) are complementary rather than contradictory. According to Levine, "Matthew 10:5b–6 signals for the gospel one end of the temporal axis that *begins* in the Hebrew scriptures".[66]

The purpose of the restriction for the evangelist was to reinforce "the fulfillment of the promises made to the Jews ... [and] recapitulate[s] the progress of Jesus' career itself".[67] In this vein, she regards Matthew 10:5b–6, together with 15:24, as "the first step in the gospel's *soteriological* program: the mission *begins* with *the Jews*, and only at the Great Commission does it extend to the gentiles".[68] Thus, Levine's approach to the logia treats the phrase as a salvation-historical abstraction by taking it as a general reference to "the Jews". This generalisation allows her to place it over against the antithetical category of Gentile. She states:

> The time of Israel, the time when the Jews retain their privileged position in salvation history, ends with the crucifixion and resurrection. The new era belongs not to Israel at all, but to the ἐκκλησία. And in the era of the church, the mission remains open to the "lost sheep of the house of Israel" and to "all the gentiles" (πάντα τὰ ἔθνη) who must hear the word before the final judgement.[69]

While it will become even clearer later in chapter 7 that this salvation-historical abstraction does not completely capture her interpretation of the meaning of the phrase, it is useful now to briefly outline her interpretation of the phrase. As with others, Levine's interpretation centres on the meaning of the genitive in the phrase. She begins by noting that both the partitive and explanative options are grammatically possible within the immediate context of the Gospel. In addition, she concedes that the association with the Gentiles and Samaritans in 10:5b who are not divided up into the good and bad, elite and marginals commends the explicative function of the genitive.

Yet, pointing backward to the introduction of the discourse where the crowds are described with the label "sheep without a shepherd" (9:36) and forward to the discourse's interest in mobility, testimony before elites (10:17–

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65   Levine 1988:39.
66   Levine 1988:2, emphasis added.
67   Levine 1988:3.
68   Levine 1988:276, emphasis added.
69   Levine 1988:11.

18), and ministry to the marginal (10:8), she asserts that the more probable reading is the partitive. She concludes:

> The exclusivity statement is, consequently, the point at which the temporal and social axes conjoin. The mission of the disciples is restricted to the Jews in order to fulfil the promises made to them. But even in this conforming to the demands of Jewish tradition, the Matthean Jesus indicates to the disciples and so to the readers of the gospel that the ultimate distinction is not between Jew and gentile but between the disenfranchised, the powerless, and the marginal who are the "lost sheep," and the elite, immobile rulers who, although now maintaining patriarchal structures, will eventually be cast into the outer darkness.[70]

Levine's work can be commended for moving the discussion forward. Perhaps her most significant contribution has been her forceful critique of previous studies that assumed that the particularistic and universal statements of mission in Matthew were in contradiction with each other. While it was noted that she has not shown why Matthew could not have used the exclusivity logion from his sources and yet remained consistent, she has forcefully argued for an alternative reading of the Gospel that includes both aspects of Matthean theology within a unified progressive (albeit salvation historical) scheme.

The second commentary highlighted in this narrative of recent research on the phrase is W. D. Davies and D. Allison's 1991 commentary on *Matthew, Volume II*. Davies and Allison take the view that the phrase originates from a mission discourse in Q and is not a Matthean creation. They offer several points to support this assertion.[71] First, they think that an omission of the 10:5b–6 by Luke would be "perfectly understandable". Second, the diction and syntax of some of the logion is not "characteristic of the redactor". Third, nowhere else in the Gospel are the Samaritans or Samaria mentioned. Fourth, nowhere does the Evangelist address the issue of how to reconcile the two texts. This seems, according to them, to suggest that had Matthew created the saying he would have been more careful and more explicit about their relationship.

They conclude: "If Matthew did in fact create 10.5f. precisely in order to reveal his notions about salvation-history, his intent has been lost on the vast majority of modern scholars".[72] In addition, given this perspective they think that 15:24, the other place where the phrase "the lost sheep of the house of Israel" appears, is probably redactional, although they leave open the possibility that it is also a pre-Matthean variant of the same saying.[73]

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70 Levine 1988:56.
71 Davies and Allison 1991:169.
72 Davies and Allison 1991:169.
73 In comments on 15:24, Davies and Allison (1991:551) state, "That Matthew created 15:24 on the basis of 10.5–6 has much to be said for it, but there are also reasons for thinking otherwise. A firm verdict, therefore, is not possible".

Davies and Allison suggest three alternatives for the meaning of the phrase "the lost sheep of the house of Israel".[74] First, they point out that some have suggested the phrase refers to "spiritual Israel", Israel according to the spirit. They rightly dismiss this view because of its implausibility in the context of the First Gospel. A second option for the phrase, which has also been suggested by previous scholars noted in this survey, is to take it as a reference to the "ten lost tribes" (cf. Geyser). Davies and Allison are equally dismissive of this view because "this renders 10.5–6 senseless, for there the lost sheep of Israel are located in Jewish territory: they are not scattered abroad".[75]

It will be the aim of this thesis to show that this option is not so easily discounted since their objection while significant, is not insurmountable. Furthermore, when both the Jewish eschatological perspective – to which Davies and Allison themselves point – and the narrative perspective of Matthew is given more attention this option could be the best explanation. Much more on this will be said later.

Davies and Allison opt for the third option which they characterise as "the most popular and surely most credible interpretation".[76] This view takes the phrase as a reference to the "Jewish nation as a whole". Their reasoning for this rests on their interpretation of the genitive phrase: they take it to be explicative rather than partitive. They state, "Not only does "the lost sheep of the house of Israel" stand over against "the Gentiles" (all of them) and "the Samaritans" (all of them), but in Isa 53.6; Jer 50.6; and Ezek 34 all the people of Israel are lost sheep".[77]

While their former point seems to be solidly established, the latter point concerning the references to lost sheep in the Scriptures is open to criticism. This thesis (esp. ch. 2 below) will attempt to show that the evidence from the Jewish Scriptures is more nuanced than their simplistic characterisation allows. For example, while Jeremiah 50:6 does consider both houses of Israel (house of Israel, house of Judah) as the "lost sheep", elsewhere in Jeremiah the Northern Kingdom of Israel is alone referred to as "lost sheep" (cf. Jer 23:1–8; 31:1–22).

Davies and Allison attend to the crucial question of the presence of 10:5–6 in a Gospel that ends with a command to preach in all the world. In fact this discussion takes up the bulk of the comments on the passage. They reject the view taken by some that 10:5–6 was in Matthew's tradition and he reproduced it although it did not reflect his own perspective. They dismiss this view be-

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74   See Davies and Allison 1991:551 for the discussion.
75   Davies and Allison 1991:551.
76   Davies and Allison 1991:551.
77   Davies and Allison 1991:167.

cause they think Matthew "too thoughtful and too thorough" an editor of his traditions to let obvious contradictions stand in his text.[78]

While this seems to be a commonsense approach – one I am sympathetic to – it is difficult to know how to evaluate it. Brown, who we surveyed above, takes the opposite view that Matthew is quite comfortable with contradictions as evidenced by a few texts.[79] An appeal to Matthew's editorial prowess is too subjective to convince one way or the other for at least two reasons. First, Matthew's editorial technique is purely a hypothetical reconstruction based on the received text. All we have is the Gospel in its final form and although we can use Mark and Luke as comparison, much is left to imagination. Second, perceived contradictions (or their absence) are not so much based on evidence, but rather on taste, so to speak; one might say that something *appears* to be a contradiction, but this is as far as it goes. What appears to be a contradiction to one appears not to be to another.

Having rejected the view just outlined, Davies and Allison argue that Matthew "believed that the situation after Easter was rather different from the situation before Easter ... with Easter ... the mission goes beyond the borders of Israel".[80] Thus, according to them, Matthew asserts: "before offering salvation to Gentiles God in Christ offered salvation to Israel".[81] This proved God's covenant faithfulness and attested to the fact that he fulfils his promises. This view coincides with several others we have surveyed (e.g. Luz, Levine).

In addition, Davies and Allison think that Matthew interprets the crucifixion and the resurrection as eschatological events that mark a decisive turning point in salvation history. With the dawning of a new era in salvation history, "God's OT promises concerning the Gentiles are realized. The scheme requires that the Gentiles come into the church *after* the saving events".[82]

E. C. Park's *The Mission Discourse in Matthew's Interpretation* was published in 1995. In discussing the tradition history behind the mission instructions of 10:5b–15, Park is honest about the difficulty of reconstructing the history of "the presynoptic material which lies behind the present synoptic texts".[83] His comprehensive treatment of the question of the origin of the particularistic statement of the mission field begins with a critique of the opinion that the statement is a Matthean creation.

Park opines that the high degree of dependency on source material in the section should make one cautious about treating the passage as a Matthean creation. In addition (and in opposition to Gundry and Stanton), Park asserts that the language of the passage "shows nothing that would be regarded as

78   Davies and Allison 1991:167.
79   Brown 1977:21.
80   Davies and Allison 1991:168.
81   Davies and Allison 1991:168.
82   Davies and Allison 1991:168.
83   Park 1995:93–94.

Mattheanism".[84] Instead, Park offers that the Semitism of 10:5b "makes it less plausible that it came from Mt's free composition".[85] And, he thinks it highly unlikely that Matthew composed a saying which, to Park's mind, "is contradictory to his own theological concept and gives it the authority of the saying of Jesus".[86]

While the latter point – the saying is a contradiction to Matthew's own view clearly – represents the minority position and is highly disputable, Park's call for caution in asserting Matthew's free composition in light of the heavy degree of dependency on source material in the section seems significant. Still, for those that hold the opposing position, this observation is surely not insurmountable. Interestingly though, Park's claim that there are *no* Mattheanisms is a complete contradiction to Gundry.[87]

It is hard to know what to make of either of these arguments since both are open to criticism. Perhaps the fact that legitimate arguments can be made for irreconcilably opposing positions reveals the tenuousness of source criticism. This discussion cannot be developed any further here, but it seems that this juggernaut has a relativising effect on the source critical issue of the passage. For our purposes, it is a question that will be left unanswered.

Alternatively, what we can be sure of is two indisputable facts: (1) the text in its final form contains two mission charges: one whose object is a group called "the lost sheep of the house of Israel" and the other whose object is a group referred to as "all the Gentiles or nations"; and (2) the text presents itself as a unified narrative of Jesus.

Park makes no attempt to discuss the meaning of the phrase "the lost sheep of the house of Israel". One can only assume that with the phrase he thinks of Jews in a national sense. This implication is drawn from his comment:

> Mt 10:5b–6 presupposes awareness of the three mission fields: the gentile mission, the Samaritan mission, and the Jewish mission ... [and] may have come from the redactional layer in Q^{Mt}, which represents the particularistic Jewish Christian party which knew about other missions but restricted its mission exclusively to the Jews.[88]

The relationship between Matthew 10:5b–6, 15:24 and 28:16–19 is briefly discussed by Park. According to him, 10:5b–6 and 28:19 refer to "two monuments of mission history" which Matthew has persevered.[89] He asserts Matthew found in Q^{Mt} an "important fossil" that points to the historical development of mission in the early church.

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84 Park 1995:94.
85 Park 1995:94–95.
86 Park 1995:95.
87 Park's (1995:97) own view is that Matt 10:5b–6 and 10:23 come from a recession of Q known as Q^{Mt}.
88 Park 1995:98.
89 Park 1995:98.

The role of 15:24 becomes foundational for linking the two poles of mission together: it serves as a stepping-stone between the two and anticipates the final mission command "in order to make the later historical development already anticipated in the sayings of the earthly Jesus".[90] After surveying various positions on the question of the relationship between the two mission commands, Park concludes:

> [There is a] clear historical distinction between the period of the mission to Israel and that of the mission to the gentiles. The time of Mt belongs to the latter, and the exclusive mission of 10:5b–6 is no longer valid for the Matthean community. It is an old, outdated tradition which Mt preserves as an historical landmark of the mission to Israel, which used to be the only mission in the earliest phase of the history of the church.[91]

Park's comment reveals that he interprets Matthew's two statements within a salvation-historical scheme that renders the exclusive mission to Israel as preparatory and temporary (and a failure)[92] and subsequently replaced by the universal mission.

J. P. Heil begins his 1993 article "Ezekiel 34 and the Narrative Strategy of the Shepherd and Sheep Metaphor in Matthew" with the assertion: "The use of the metaphor of shepherd and sheep for the leaders and their people embraces the entire Gospel of Matthew".[93]

Heil is not concerned with questions of tradition history, but he does point out the fact that the Jewish Scriptures provide the "inspiration and unity of Matthew's shepherd metaphor".[94] While not discounting the importance of allusions and quotations to other shepherd texts in the Scriptures, Heil contends that Ezekiel 34 in particular is most influential for Matthew's use of the shepherd metaphor. He writes:

> Ezekiel 34 represents an especially full development of this metaphor. It provides the Matthean implied reader, *whose familiarity with the OT implied author presupposes*, with the concepts and images necessary to comprehend the unified way in which this metaphor functions as a narrative strategy.[95]

Two points are worthy of note. First, Heil's methodology assumes that the implied readers would not only be familiar with the scriptural imagery, but that it would inform their understanding of Matthew's narrative. Second, Heil asserts that the shepherd-sheep imagery forms a foundational narrative strategy for Matthew. He expresses that his purpose is to demonstrate that these occurrences "form a narrative strategy with significant consequences for the implied

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90   Park 1995:98.
91   Park 1995:177.
92   Park 1995:174.
93   Heil 1993:698.
94   Heil 1993:698.
95   Heil 1993:699, n. 3, emphasis added.

audience".[96] The imagery and its Jewish background, according to Heil, are not inconsequential to Matthew's presentation of Jesus.

Regarding the phrase "the lost sheep of the house of Israel", Heil makes two observations. First, he shows the connection of Matthew 10:6 with 9:36 asserting that the participle ἀπολωλότα (10:6) "develops the previous description of the crowds who had been and still are "tormented and oppressed," without a shepherd (9:36)".[97] Second, he notes that the terms "lost sheep" and "house of Israel" occur in Ezekiel 34 in the context of an expectation of restoration which includes a judgement of Israel's leaders, a return from exile and the appointment of a new Davidic shepherd.

Armed with these two useful points, Heil suggests that the connection of Jesus' shepherding role with the disciples would impress on the implied readers their responsibility to shepherd God's people. He concludes by highlighting the tension created by the restriction of 10:5–6, but makes no attempt to resolve it, instead stating: "But the restriction that the disciples are to go neither to the Gentiles nor to the Samaritans (10:5) introduces a tension that begs for resolution".[98]

A. von Dobbeler wrote an article in 2000 entitled "Die Restitution Israels und die Bekehrung der Heiden: Das Verhältnis von Mt 10,5b.6 und Mt 28,18–20 unter dem Aspekt der Komplementarität. Erwägungen zum Standort des Matthäusevangeliums". In this article, von Dobbeler set himself the task of understanding the juxtaposition of the apparent contradictory statements of mission in Matthew's Gospel. To begin with, von Dobbeler surveys the various attempts at resolving the tension in recent scholarship. He usefully categorises the attempts under two rubrics: the explanation model of a historical juxtaposition (*Erklärungsmodell des geschichtlichen Nacheinanders*) and the explanation model of salvation-historical sequence (*Erklärungsmodell einer heilsgeschichtlichen Abfolge*).[99]

The first model, which he describes as the view that the phase of the particularist mission to Israel belongs in the past and has no present application, is the least plausible explanation. His opinion is based on the narrative shaping of the mission discourse which, according to von Dobbeler, is made transparent for the author's present community. The difficulties of a historical reconstruction based on the particulars of the mission discourse (e.g. 10:16, 23) makes the explanation implausible.[100]

The latter model he divides further into the Substitution Model (*Substitutionsmodell*) and the Delimitation Model (*Entschränkungsmodell*). Of the Sub-

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96   Heil 1993:698.
97   Heil 1993:702.
98   Heil 1993:702.
99   When compared with Luz, it is evident that von Dobbeler depends on him for these categories; see Luz 1990:91–93.
100 Von Dobbeler 2000:22–23.

stitution Model, von Dobbeler critiques its primary assertion that the Gentile church replaces Israel and the exclusive mission to Israel in Matthew's Gospel serves an apologetic or polemical purpose in underscoring Israel's guilt. Von Dobbeler singles out Trilling (see above) as an example of this view. Among von Dobbeler's responses he points out that Matthew's Gospel nowhere expressly rescinds a mission to Israel. Furthermore, according to him, all that Matthew 28:19–20 abrogates, if anything, is the limitation of mission on Israel alone (*die Beschränkung auf Israel*).

Von Dobbeler also criticises the Delimitation Model, which assumes that the particularist mission of 10:5–6 has been expanded by the universal mission of 28:19–20, for assuming that the theologies of mission in both contexts are exactly the same. This deficiency (*dieser Mangel*), as he calls it, has led to the view that Israel has lost its salvation-historical position as well as that the object of the mission is a distinctionless group.

In contrast to these three positions, von Dobbeler presents a fourth alternative he calls "Complementary" (*Komplementarität*). His view argues that the two missions should not be seen as contradictory or in tension with each other, but rather the two missions were complementary expressions of the one mission of Jesus the Messiah. The mission of Jesus and his disciples was not to a distinctionless group, but was aimed at two different groups and comprised two different missionary tasks.

The mission to Israel entailed the announcement of the coming of the kingdom of God and Israel's restoration of its land and people. Meanwhile, the mission to the nations meant the extension of the kingdom of God throughout the whole earth and implies the conversion of the nations to the living God. Von Dobbeler states, "*Restitution Israels und Bekehrung der Heiden* wären demnach die komplementären Aspekte der einen messianischen Sendung".[101] Furthermore, he concludes:

> Matthäus sieht die Jünger Jesu sowohl zu den verlorenen Schafen des Hauses Israel als auch zu den Heidenvölkern gesandt, freilich mit jeweils unterschiedlich akzentuierten Aufträgen: Im Blick auf Israel geht es um die Restitution des Volkes, im Blick auf die Heidenwelt um die Bekehrung zu dem lebendigen Gott. Beide Sendungen konvergieren darin, daß sie in komplementärer Weise Ausdruck der einen messianischen Sendung in Israel als auch für die Heidenmission von zentraler Relevanz sind.[102]

It is not possible to interact with von Dobbeler's thesis in any detail, but his critique and his innovated thesis appears to be a significant contribution. In the main, his suggestion and its support seems to be convincing as is his analysis of the previous attempts to explain the apparent tension. Yet, I would question

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101 Von Dobbeler 2000:28, emphasis his.
102 Von Dobbeler 2000:41.

his assumptions about the interpretation of the Mission Discourse that cause him to discredit out of hand and historical sequence explanation.

The counter arguments he offers, while legitimate and important, are not insurmountable. For example, the fact that Matthew does include a narrative of the disciples' report back to Jesus after their mission as in Mark and Luke and in this way can be called "open-ended" does not necessarily mean that Matthew is proposing that the mission to "the lost sheep of the house of Israel" continues within his present community. The focus of Matthew's narrative is not on the disciples, but on Jesus, and this can easily justify such an omission.[103] Furthermore, the meaning of Matthew 10:23 is notoriously difficult and is hardly capable of adjudicating an interpretation of the Mission Discourse.

As one of the two groups addressed by the two-fold mission, von Dobbeler attends to the phrase "the lost sheep of the house of Israel" in 10:6 and 15:24. He does not devote time to the question of the origin of the phrase, except to assert that it comes from a pre-Matthean logion. In addition, he approvingly cites Trilling's view that 10:5b–6 is traditional, while 15:24 is redactional.[104]

He asks the very question that this thesis is devoted to, namely, who are "the lost sheep of the house of Israel"? Von Dobbeler begins by attending to the crucial question of the meaning of the genitive phrase: is it explanatory or partitive? He opts for the latter, asserting that the metaphor while reflecting a multifaceted predicament that includes physical and religious needs, primarily indicates a political-social dimension of need.[105] His view is based on the immediate context where 10:6 is linked with 9:36 such that "the lost sheep of the house of Israel" are those who are "sheep without a shepherd". This idea, he asserts, is a familiar Jewish scriptural typos of a prophetic leadership critique (*prophetische Herrscherkritik*).

This political dimension, according to von Dobbeler, forbids one to think of the phrase as a reference to "all Israel". Instead, it refers to those in Israel who are suffering under a "ruling class" (*Führungsschicht*).[106] Thus, Matthew's use of the phrase accentuates the failure of Israel's leadership and acts as a critique: "Matthäus ist also an einer innerisraelischen Differenzierung mit deutlich *autoritätskritischem* Akzent gelegen".[107]

Von Dobbeler's interpretation has much going for it, although he could be slighted for not developing his assertions more firmly with evidence. Noteworthy in his interpretation is his observation of the importance of the political-social dimension of the phrase. To his credit, though, he rightly has a more

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103 For a further critique of the position of von Dobbeler see Schnabel 2002:291.
104 Von Dobbeler 2000:29, n. 43.
105 Von Dobbeler 2000:30
106 Von Dobbeler 2000:30.
107 Von Dobbeler 2000:30.

holistic interpretation that encompasses the physical, religious and political dimensions of the need described by Matthew.[108]

In 2002, J. R. C. Cousland's book *The Crowds in the Gospel of Matthew* appeared and in it he discussed the phrase "the lost sheep of the house of Israel" focusing on its relationship to Matthew's portrait of the crowds. Cousland calls attention to the debate concerning the origin of the particularistic mission statements of 10:5–6 and 15:24. After briefly outlining the two polarised positions on the question (i.e. one side asserts that these are dominical sayings and the other contends they are a Matthean creation), he appears to side with the view that they represent a Matthean creation. However, this is not entirely clear since in the concluding statement on the issue he writes,

> Of these two positions, the latter appears the more promising. With the former, one has to ask why so many Mattheanisms occur in the reputed *ipsissima vox Jesu*. *Acceptance of the latter position explains them, without precluding thereby an underlying awareness of tradition on Matthew's part*.[109]

It seems he is saying something similar to what I asserted above in the discussion of Gundry's view if one takes the presence of "Mattheanisms" as convincing. In other words, simply having Matthean diction does not itself preclude an underlying tradition.

Cousland's interpretation of the phrase "the lost sheep of the house of Israel" is closely tied to the "sheep without a shepherd" statement of 9:36. For him, the phrase refers to Israel in a corporate-national sense. He states,

> The metaphor of "sheep without a shepherd", therefore, is applied to the people corporately. The same can be said for the "lost sheep of the House of Israel" at 10:6. If οἴκου Ἰσραήλ has occasionally been taken as a partitive genitive, which would signify that only a part of Israel was lost, the context of the verse indicates that it is an epexegetical genitive, one referring to all of Israel. The correlation of Israel with the "Gentiles" and the "Samaritans" in 10:5 (cf. 15:24), where all Israel is contrasted with these two other ethnic groups, imparts a national significance to the phrase. In addition, the expression "lost sheep" also occurs in the Hebrew Bible, where it generally has a corporate signification.[110]

Several observations Cousland makes here will be important for the discussion later in chapter 7. First, like several others before, he rightly links 9:36 with 10:6. Next, he, as with most others surveyed, the sense of the genitive is determinative for the meaning of the phrase. Third, he highlights the corporate-national connotation of the phrase. Fourth, he sees the context of the Hebrew Bible as formative for the interpretation. It will become clear in subsequent discussions that Cousland's remark that the "lost sheep" is "generally a corpo-

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108 Von Dobbeler (2000:30) states, "Dabei ist immer das Ineinander von physischer, religiöser und politischer Not zu bedenken".
109 Cousland 2001:89, emphasis added.
110 Cousland 2001:91.

rate signification" while true, does not fully comprehend the Jewish evidence –
an oversight that this thesis hopes to correct.

In addressing the question of Jesus' relationship to Israel, Cousland at-
tends to the question of the two missionary charges and the tension between
them. He helpfully summarises the two primary positions on the question that
we have already seen in the previous discussion. Some have attributed the di-
verging missions to opposing groups or traditions within the church (e.g.,
Brown). Meanwhile most have attempted to reconcile the antithetical positions
within the context of a salvation-historical scheme (e.g., Trilling, Hooker,
Brown, Gundry, Levine, McKnight, Davies and Allison, Luz). Cousland,
based on his view that 10:6 and 15:24 are editorial creations, asserts that the
latter opinion is more satisfactory. He states,

> Matthew conceives of the post-Easter phase, where all authority has been granted
> to Jesus, as being different from the pre-Easter period. The disparity between the
> two phases accounts for the difference in the mission charges: they are to be recon-
> ciled within the framework of salvation history.[111]

Most recently, in 2004 Y. S. Chae defended his dissertation at Trinity Evan-
gelical Divinity School entitled *Mission of the Compassion: Jesus as the Es-
chatological Davidic Shepherd in Matthew's Gospel* and will soon be pub-
lished as a monograph.[112] Chae's work stresses the formative nature of the
Davidic shepherd tradition for Matthew's portrait of Jesus and his Christology,
and it is in this manner the phrase "the lost sheep of the house of Israel" is ad-
dressed.

Chae's thesis sets out to explain the "puzzling association of the Son of
David with healing ministry against the background of the Davidic Shepherd
tradition".[113] Within the thesis, he also attempts to address the theme of the
restoration of Israel in the Gospel against this background. Thus, in a manner
similar to my own approach, Chae first examines the Jewish background to the
Davidic Shepherd tradition in biblical and post-biblical Jewish literature and
then casts his attention on Matthew's use of the tradition in his Gospel attend-
ing to the twin issues.

With respect to the first issue, he convincingly shows that the Davidic
Shepherd tradition provides the best framework for understanding the relation-
ship between the title "Son of David" and the healing miracles. This is in con-
trast to the oft noted Solomon-as-exorcist tradition. He states, "Jesus as the
Son of David heals ... because he is the *messianic Shepherd* ... Matthew's use
of the shepherd image can be key to understanding the association of the Son
of David and healing in the Gospel".[114]

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111 Cousland 2001:101.
112 Chae 2004; cf. Chae 2006 .
113 Chae 2004:iii.
114 Chae 2004:7, emphasis added.

In Chae's discussion of the restoration of Israel from the perspective of the Davidic Shepherd tradition, he addresses the question of the meaning of the phrase, although without devoting to it a significant amount of discussion either to the origin of the phrase or its meaning. Of the restoration of Israel within the Davidic Shepherd tradition, Chae states:

> First and foremost, the restoration of Israel to be wrought by these figures [the eschatological Shepherd and his Davidic Shepherd-Appointee] constitutes the fulfillment of the theocratic revision of the Davidic monarchy ... YHWH appoints "one Davidic Shepherd/King" over the renewed Israel (Ezek 34, 37), or over Israel together with the nations (cf. Mic 5:1–4; *An. Apoc.* 89–90; *Ps. Sol*. 17–18).[115]

In spite of the concrete and national framework of the expectations Chae highlights, he is unwilling or unable to see his claim that Matthew retains these national hopes implies that Matthew envisages a restoration of Israel in concrete-national terms. Instead, Chae *spiritualises* the term "lost" and interprets it to be equivalent to term "sinner" in Matthew.[116] However, Chae is averse to have the Matthean Jesus consider the "downtrodden" of the crowd (9:36) as "sinners", so he posits that Matthew re-interprets "sinner" to mean "the most victimized ones among the weak, the sick, the injured, and the outcast".[117] According to Chae, "The lost sheep of the house of Israel", therefore, are the sinners – though not really sinners in a conventional sense, but rather those that are "afflicted".[118] Still, he agrees with the majority of scholars who interpret the genitive as explanatory or epexegetical rather than partitive.[119]

The foregoing narrative of recent research has taken us across nearly 50 years of analysis and has been by no means comprehensive. Admittedly, the discussion has been generally descriptive without detailed interaction with every perspective. A general presentation of previous scholarship is adequate for our purposes here however, given that a detailed analysis of the phrase will be undertaken in chapter 7 of the thesis. In this conclusion then, I will present the general strengths and weakness of the research and to show where this thesis hopes to make its contribution.

There are several notable strengths in recent research. First, there is a general agreement that the phrase originates in a pre-Matthean tradition and is not

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115 Chae 2004:368.
116 Chae 2004:387.
117 Chae 2004:387.
118 Chae 2004:387. Chae's interpretation of "the lost sheep of the house of Israel" is rooted in his understanding of the phrase "lost sheep" in Ezekiel 34:4, 16. In that context, he interpreted the idea of "outside the pasture" not as outside the Land of Israel as is explicit in the context (Ezek 34:13), but outside "YHWH's community of the covenant" (2004:385). The covenant context he claims, however, is not tied to the idea of "lost" in this context. To the contrary, it is the very fact that the group in view is still within the "covenant community" that renders them lost: their abiding membership within the covenant community gives meaning to their lost-ness and the need to find them (see Ezek 34).
119 Chae 2004:318.

a Matthean creation. Judicious scholars have not wished to assert much beyond this however. It became patently obvious that a decision about the exact origin of the phrase was outside the capacity of our current methodologies. Furthermore, it is entirely conceivable that Matthew created a unified narrative that intentionally included both mission statements. Thus, most scholars believe the two mission commands are not in tension or contradictory.

Second, all of the recent studies agree that the phrase "the lost sheep of the house of Israel" is taken from the Jewish Scriptures. More specifically, very recent research has shown that the phrase's most likely background is the traditions related to the Davidic Shepherd and the restoration of the kingdom of Israel. Moreover, recent scholars have worked with the assumption that at least the implied readers were not only familiar with the Jewish scriptural imagery, but that it would inform their understanding of Matthew's narrative (e.g. Martin, Heil, Chae).

Third, Brown's methodological point about the *direction of reading* Matthew is of great significance, although not widely noted or followed by the scholars surveyed. Brown stressed that the genre of the Gospel of Matthew, that is to say its narrative characteristic, dictates that one discerns Matthew's theology through the very *presentation* of the story.

Fourth, while there continues to be debate, a consensus has developed surrounding the interpretation of the important genitive phrase. The phrase is understood by a majority of scholars to be a reference to Israel in a corporate-national sense. In spite of the consensus, there are recent attempts to justify the partitive sense of the genitive that are not without substance. Von Dobbeler's view, for instance, that "the lost sheep of the house of Israel" is a political-social designation is significant.

Fifth, and related to the previous point, there were a handful of studies that made note of the possible reference, by means of the phrase, to the remnants of the ten lost tribes of Israel. Geyser's study was perhaps the boldest of those who made such a claim. This perspective was largely underdeveloped by those who suggest it. In addition, Davies and Allison's dismissal of the view was hardly comprehensive or decisive. Moreover, there remains room for further development of this position.

Finally, in very recent scholarship on the question of the relationship between the two mission commands there has been a new option offered that competes with the Salvation-historical scheme solution. This new perspective may better explain the evidence in the Gospel and may provide a way forward in resolving the apparent contradiction. Von Dobbeler suggests that the two mission commands are complementary such that the two aim at different targets, comprise different missionary tasks, and are ongoing.

The weaknesses of recent research are equally significant and provide the opportunity to further the discussion of the phrase. First, and perhaps most

crucial, is the tendency seen repeatedly to omit a thorough examination of the phrase both within its Jewish eschatological context and within the narrative framework of Matthew. While some studies provide a very brief hand waving toward the scriptural background, little attention is actually paid to the details of Jewish eschatological setting. The exception, of course, is Chae's recent work which in many respects is contemporaneous with my own.

Furthermore, recent scholarship has not sufficiently appreciated the geographical orientation of Matthew's narrative presentation in the investigation of the phrase. Matthew's perspective of the geographical movement of Jesus coupled with his placement of the phrase within Jesus' Messianic mission provides important evidence for the meaning of the phrase.

Second, and connected to the first, is the tendency to interpret the phrase in an overly generalised manner. Most scholars, who read the genitive as an explanatory genitive, conclude that the phrase refers to "all Israel" or to the "Jewish people" in an abstract ethnic-theological sense. For example, Levine's interpretation of the phrase along these lines serves to support the particular soteriological concern she perceives to be at the heart of the Gospel.

Her interpretation may be criticised, however, for under-appreciating the Jewish eschatological background of the phrase, overlooking concrete political concerns within the Gospel, and the narrative presentation of the Gospel itself, which cannot be so easily reduced to abstractions. The specifics of such an evaluation will be shown in chapter 7 below, although at a general level it seems that the persuasive force of her perceived salvation-historical construct concealed interpretive options outside the abstract soteriological concern of *ordo salutis*.

A third general weakness of recent scholarship is the salvation-historical explanation for the presence of the phrase. While scholars such as Levine can be applauded for criticising inadequate views of previous scholarship, the preoccupation with the resolution of the so-called tension has set the research agenda for the phrase. There is no doubt that this is a crucial question for Matthew's Gospel, and one that deserves careful attention. Yet, the salvation-historical approach is inadequate because either it presents a replacement theology, or it too easily glosses over the particularities of the narrative presentation. In addition, both types of salvation-historical schemes seem to ignore the political nature of the eschatological expectations surrounding the Davidic shepherd tradition to which undoubtedly this phrase relates – expectations that Matthew not only seems not bothered by, but also not concerned to ameliorate.

Rather than seek to understand the phrase on its own terms within the particularities of the Matthean narrative, most interpreters approach the phrase from the Gospel's end. Because they assume, perhaps rightly, that the ending of the Gospel is the climax and foundation of the Gospel, the universal command and mission to "all Gentiles/nations" (Matt 28:19–20) serve as the Gos-

pel's interpretive key.[120] In effect then, they read it from "right to left".[121] Such an approach, however, privileges a salvation-historical explanation, because from the beginning of the research the meaning of the phrase "the lost sheep of the house of Israel" and its importance in Jesus' and the disciples' mission is a secondary concern; the phrase is simply caught up in the tide of a salvation-historical interpretation.

In contrast, the present study takes its cue from Brown's approach highlighted above, and more recently from W. Carter, who stresses the "primacy effect" of the Gospel text. Thus, rather than reading the text *backwards*, I attempt to read it narratively and in sequence allowing the *beginning* of the Gospel, with its Davidic Messianism, to be the interpretive key for the whole.[122] While more will be said about the relationship between the two mission statements in Matthew in the conclusion of our study in chapter 9, the important point here is that the Shepherd-King motif within the matrix of Davidic Messianism seems to give the phrase a more concrete political-national meaning than has been appreciated by scholars like Levine.

A final weakness of recent scholarship worthy of mention here is the tendency by most to assume that Matthew's narrative is merely a reflection of his community's present activity. More than once, scholars have appealed to the plausibility of certain interpretations based on whether they could appropriately *reflect* the practice of a group of early Christians. Debates about the viewpoint of the author or his community with respect to their present missionary practice cannot be decided from a document that purports to be a narrative of the words and deeds of Jesus of Nazareth.

It is certainly incontestable that the author writes his narrative about Jesus from a certain vantage point, and it seems likely that one can discern its contours in Matthew's presentation. However, reading Matthew's Gospel as it was *intended* to be read (i.e. a story about Jesus [cf. Matt 1:1]) suggests that it is about the past of Jesus and not the present life of the community; it is about Jesus of Nazareth and his Messianic mission.[123]

Recent scholarship, then, has focused primarily on the precarious attempt to illuminate Matthean community's missionary practice, rather than accessing more adequately Matthew's understanding of the significance of Jesus' Messianic mission and its implications for Gentiles in a mid to late first-century Palestinian Jewish context. The latter is the focus of the present study.

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120 See Levine (1988:273) whose assumption is implicit in her view that the shift of the temporal axis is signalled in the Great Commission; however, others are much more explicit: see Brown 1977:25; see similarly Schnelle 1998:230–31.

121 See the critique of Brown already mentioned above; this highly influential approach was first put forward by Michel 1950.

122 See likewise Repschinski 2006:249–50; 265; Skarsaune 2003:2.

123 This is the essence of Lemcio's (1991) argument.

Perhaps more of both the strengths and weaknesses of previous scholarship could be mentioned and evaluated, but this succinct list provides a foundation for the present research. On the one hand, the strengths of recent scholarship pave the way for new ideas, not least what will be suggested in this thesis. On the other hand, the weaknesses that seem to be pervasive, not least the omission of a comprehensive study of the phrase in its literary setting of Matthew as well as in Jewish eschatology, point to the need for a fresh investigation of the phrase and the potential for a contribution to research.

1.2 The Thesis

In view of the weaknesses (and strengths) of recent research on the question, this study investigates "the lost sheep of the house of Israel" phrase in order to determine the identity of the group. In light of Matthew's intense interest in Jesus' Davidic Messiahship, I argue that the way forward in ascertaining the meaning of the phrase is within the trajectory of the Jewish Shepherd-King traditions surrounding King David. Thus, the study will propose the thesis that the locution "the lost sheep of the house of Israel" contained in the two logia should be read against the backdrop of an eschatological Messianic Shepherd-King expectation. The trajectory of eschatological expectation within Judaism maintains the original shape of a concrete eschatological expectation of political-national restoration. While not widespread within Second Temple Judaism, the motif is found in the seventeenth chapter of the important text of *Psalms of Solomon*.

When one reads the phrase against the background of a concrete expectation for the restoration of Israel, the latent political-national implications of the Matthean Jesus' mission come into view. The thesis claims that "the lost sheep of the house of Israel" refers to remnants of the former northern kingdom of Israel who continued to reside in the northern region of the ideal Land of Israel. The mission of Jesus as construed by Matthew centres on the restoration of Israel as a nation-state and relates to the future reconstitution of the twelve-tribe league of political Israel within the ideal Land. Thus, the Matthean Jesus' Messianic missional scope in his first appearance was limited geographically to those who were residing in the northern region of the Land.

1.3 Gospel Presuppositions and Assumptions

Before I set out the procedure of the thesis, two introductory points require attention. In this section I will lay bare my *conscious* presuppositions and assumptions concerning both Gospel and Matthean research. In two subsequent

sections, I will describe the method used to address the research question and the consequent limitations of my research project.

It seems self-evident that every doctoral thesis must ski in the wake of a boat – this analogy comes from my days growing up near a lake in Florida. Given the limitations of time, resources and experience, a doctoral student, indeed even seasoned scholars, must choose a boat behind which to ski when she undertakes a research project. As I have pointed out elsewhere, the choice of the boat depends as much on the person's presuppositions – both conscious and unconscious, as on her intellectual acumen.[124] In this section, I will briefly describe the boat behind which this particular thesis skis. While my choice of boat is in part a product of unconscious decisions, those of which I am aware I will present here. They are an eclectic set of conscious presuppositions and assumptions about Matthew's Gospel that relate to its sources, provenance and genre. These points will not be defended in any detail. The purpose here is merely to make clear to the reader what my thesis takes for granted.

First, I take as a working hypothesis the scholarly consensus that Matthew used the Gospel of Mark, or some form it.[125] Although methodologically this thesis neither follows a typical redactional approach to the study of the First Gospel (see discussion of approach below) nor is it oriented to source matters, it still presupposes that Matthew has deliberately used Mark in his formation of his unique story of Jesus. This seems to me to be a well-established point.

Yet, beyond this "single most assured result" of redaction criticism,[126] I am growing increasingly sceptical of a researcher's ability (my own and others') to discern with much specificity the number and nature of other sources that were available to Matthew at the time of his writing. This scepticism comes from a increasing appreciation of the complexities related to redactional studies focused on sources – complexities of presupposition and procedure that I have described elsewhere.[127] The attempt to untie the knot of sources is more difficult than is often admitted and can easily become a web of conjecture built on speculative reconstructions of non-existent sources. A redactional approach that focuses on source critical issues, while necessary for the resolution of some research questions, is not used here given the limitation of focus and space. Since the question of this thesis relates primarily to Matthew's reuse of biblical material, specifically the Messianic Shepherd-King motif, and its func-

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124 See my article – included in the back sleeve of this thesis – entitled "Presuppositions and Procedures in the study of the Historical Jesus" where I develop this extensively (Willitts 2005).

125 The question of authorship I am willing to leave open. However, in using the moniker "Matthew", I mean to imply no more than that the author of the canonical Gospel – whether that is the apostle Matthew or an unknown Jewish historical figure – is irrelevant to this research. For a detailed discussion of Jewish authorship see Davies and Allison 1988:7–72 and most recently Nolland 2005:2–4.

126 Stanton's (1993:51) words.

127 See Willitts 2005.

tion in his portrayal of Jesus, I have for the most part left source critical questions aside. In my view, to handle adequately source-critical questions would require far more space for argumentation than is possible here, and such a tack is not required by the thesis.

Still, what is seemingly beyond doubt, and what I take as axiomatic, is that Matthew *did* use other sources in concert with Mark (sources traditionally referred to as Q^M and M).[128] What is more, along with written sources, scholars should more readily include oral tradition as a potential Matthean source. Many redaction critics of a previous generation have treated the issue of sources at a purely literary level, thereby making the issues seem more penetrable and less complex than they really are.[129]

A second foundational assumption of this thesis relates to the *Sitz im Leben* of the First Gospel. Two issues require comment: the social location and historical context of both the author and audience. Taking these in order, the view that Matthew's Gospel is the most Jewish of the four Gospels is commonplace.[130] For example, J. Kingsbury notes, "The ministry of Jesus ... has a particularly Jewish aura about it in Matthew's Gospel".[131] O. Skarsaune also comments: "In no other Gospel is Jesus portrayed as so meticulously correct in his chalakic argument with his opponents; in no other Gospel are the readers supposedly to observe the entire Mosaic law as they are in Matthew".[132]

In recent years, beginning with scholars like A. Overman and A. Saldarini and continued by others such as D. Sim, D. Harrington and W. Carter,[133] there has been a growing and now established conviction that the author of the First Gospel was a first-century Jew.[134] What is more, this viewpoint posits that the social context of his audience was still very much *within* Judaism (*intra muros*). Thus, on this view of Matthew's social situation, at least parts of early Christianity have not yet broken away from Judaism. Matthew and those he represented believed that they were the remnant and the true Israel, and that

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128 For a thorough discussion of Matthew's sources still see Davies and Allison 1988:97–127. Perhaps Green's (2001:27–28) recent reminder that Q is simply a hypothesis should be restated: "[It] is essentially no more than an inference from the existence of parallels between Matthew and Luke which have no counterpart in Mark".

129 E.g. Luz 2005:32; see Nolland (2005:6) as a recent example of a commentator taking note of oral tradition in his assessment of sources.

130 See Nolland's (2005:17) very recent comment: "We have already noted the profound Jewishness of the whole Gospel of Matthew. It is so pervasive that it hardly needs to be documented"; cf. likewise Gale 2005:32–33, 162–63.

131 Kingsbury 1988:150.

132 Skarsaune 2003:4.

133 Carter 2000; Harrington 1991; Overman 1990; Saldarini 1994; Sim 1998; cf. most recently Nolland (2005:18) who asserts, "Matthew writes for Jewish Christians who are very conscious of their Jewish identity".

134 Carter (2004:20–21; cf. also Davies and Allison 1988:73) summarises the view concerning the author I espouse: "the author was an educated Jewish Christian [though the term is perhaps anachronistic], and probably trilingual. He wrote competent Greek, and, it seems, knew both Aramaic and Hebrew".

those who did not join their community would be judged with the wicked and the unrighteous. They held to a Jewish faith and saw themselves as the group in and through whom the promises of Israel were being fulfilled. Jesus was the Messiah and the authoritative interpreter of the Torah in the new age. Saldarini writes:

> The Matthean group and its spokesperson, the author of the Gospel of Matthew, are Jews who believe in Jesus as the Messiah and Son of God. The Matthean group is a fragile minority still thinking of themselves as Jews and still identified with the Jewish community by others ... the outlook and practice which Matthew promotes in his gospel is thoroughly Jewish and based on the Bible as understood through the teachings and actions of Jesus. Matthew seeks to carry on Jesus' reform of Judaism and convince his fellow Jews that his understanding of Judaism is God given (11:25–27) and necessary for Israel and for the gentiles, too.[135]

From this perspective the purpose of the Gospel of Matthew is to legitimise the form of Judaism, which Jesus initiated and Matthew now promulgates, by utilizing the sources of authority in the Jewish community, i.e. scripture, and by delegitimising the Jewish leaders. It must be said, nevertheless, that the concept of a "Matthean community" is not as easily discernable from the book of Matthew as Sim and others suggest (see argument below).

One of the primary implications of this assumption is that both the Jewish Scriptures and the extra-biblical Jewish tradition would have been central to the process of legitimising Matthew's story of Jesus. As I have argued elsewhere, in answering the fundamental question of the true Israel, diverse Jewish groups in the first century drew from the same authoritative source. Hence, a particular sect's reuse and application of the biblical traditions set them apart from other Jewish groups as the "true Israel".[136] It can be assumed, then, that not only the author of Matthew, but his audience would have been intimately acquainted with the Jewish Scriptures (perhaps both the Hebrew and the Greek as suggested by A. Gale[137]) as well as sensitive to and influenced by scriptural arguments through allusions and quotations.

Even still, this implication and the present thesis would not be undermined if one took a slightly different perspective on this question, as for example, the view espoused by G. Stanton (and recently re-asserted by P. Foster), that Matthew's social location is now outside Judaism (*extra muros*). On this understanding, the Gospel's purpose is to distance the Matthean community from the synagogue and a redefine its self-identity.[138]

Inextricably linked to the question of the nature and circumstances of the Gospel's author and audience is the question of date and historical context. Those who continue to think a particular *Sitz im Leben* of Matthew is accessi-

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135 Saldarini 1994:1, 7.
136 See Willitts 2006 with discussion below.
137 See most recently Gale 2005:111–61 .
138 Foster 2004; Stanton 1993:118–24, 192–206.

ble (see discussion below)[139] assume, almost without question, that it is to be found in the late first century A.D. (between A.D. 75–100 and most think between A.D. 80–85)[140] in the aftermath of the destruction of Jerusalem and the emerging post-destruction Rabbinic movement.[141] Nevertheless, a minority of opinion remains unconvinced by the argument that Matthew contains an "unambiguous reference" to the destruction of Jerusalem.[142]

A definitive position on the date of the First Gospel will not be taken here since from my perspective the question remains open and this thesis is sustainable in either a pre- or post-70 *Sitz im Leben*. For example, a Messianic expectation like the one I have suggested was clearly alive well into the late first and early second century as the Bar Kochba revolt reveals. Still, I will admit that I lean toward an early date for the Gospel given its close parallels to other pre-70 Jewish groups (see more on this in the thesis). Thus, rather than representing a debate with the synagogue and the burgeoning Rabbinic movement of post-70 Judaism either within or without the parent body, Matthew could represent a Palestinian setting prior to the fall of Jerusalem in the third-quarter of the first century on par with sectarian groups represented by the *Psalms of Solomon* and the Qumran Scrolls.[143] What is more, the evidence used to justify the traditional understanding of the circumstances of the community (i.e. a post-70 disenfranchised community) from the Gospel itself, could be equally relevant and applicable in a pre-70 Palestinian setting.[144]

Finally, among the issues that form the assumptions upon which the present work is based is the issue of genre, that is, what sort of document is Matthew? R. Burridge has led a "new consensus" on the issue of gospel genre by convincingly showing that the Synoptic Gospels are an example of ancient βίοι.[145] He has shown that while βίος is a wide and flexible genre, many βίοι were used by philosophical schools "for teaching about their beliefs and founder, as well as for attack and defence in debate with other groups".[146] He sur-

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139 Cf. the views of Bauckham 1998; Hengel 2000:106–07, who have opposed the idea of a "community" behind the Gospels.

140 See Beaton (2002:9, n. 27; cf. also Schnelle 1998:222; Sim 1998:31–40) who represents the commonplace opinion when he suggests that a post-70 date is most probable because of "Matthean dependence on Mark". However, Markan priority does not require a date in the last quarter of the first century, post-70 (e.g. Nolland 2005:14). What is more, for a recent argument for an early date of Mark (not later than c. 40), which could allow for a chronology much like what Robinson (1976:352) suggested see now Crossley 2004.

141 See Riches' (2005:1–3) recent brief description of the trend.

142 See most recently Nolland 2005:14–17.

143 See ch. 2 for Pss. Sol. evidence, with Stanton 1993:85–107 and Kampen 1994 for the Scrolls.

144 Thus, the points that Foster (2004:254–55) has raised can be understood easily within a pre-70 setting: (1) conspiratorial agreement by Jewish opponents (28:11–15), (2) the temple tax (17:24–27), and (3) the references to "their" or "your synagogues" (4:23; 9:35; 10:17; 12:9; 13:54; 23:34).

145 Burridge 2004; cf. approvingly Stanton 1993:59–71; and most recently Carter 2004:41.

146 Burridge 2004:248; contra Cousland (2001:25–26; cf. also Nolland 2005:19, 22) who claims that Burridge and others are "overvaluing the narrative quality of the gospel". Cousland opts

mises that in this way the gospels' genre lead a reader to expect to find "didac-
tic, apologetic and polemical purposes and material" within them.[147] Further-
more, Burridge contends that since the Gospels are βίος the "key to their in-
terpretation must be the person of their subject, Jesus of Nazareth" over against
– quoting Perrin – "the reality of Christian experience".[148]

Similarly, S. McKnight has characterised Matthew's genre as that of
"*kerygmatic biography*", which, he further avers, legitimises "both a quest for
the historical Jesus (Matthew does intend to provide data about Jesus) as well
as investigations into the nature of Matt's theology".[149] Burridge makes his
point even plainer: "The gospels are nothing less than Christology in narrative
form".[150] He further spells out the implications of this line of thinking when he
asserts, "biography is a genre written by a person about a person for other peo-
ple" not "by committees about concepts for communities".[151]

Burridge concludes:

> The hermeneutical key for understanding the gospels as biography is not to be
> found in presumed problems in hypothetical communities, setting or textual rela-
> tionships, but rather in their Christology. Every passage, pericope or verse must be
> interpreted in the light of the biographical genre of the whole: what this story tells
> us about the author's understanding of Jesus.[152]

Reading the Gospel of Matthew as a biography, then, leads me to join the
growing chorus of scholars who have criticised the *extreme* "community-based
sociological analysis of the gospel audiences".[153] In the main, I am sympathetic
to this recent critique, but wish to suggest a more *nuanced* view of audience
that avoids the extremes on both sides of the debate and takes appropriate ac-
count of the particular Gospel under consideration.[154] I wish to take a middle
position between the two poles that I would characterise as a *chastised*
Matthean community view. My view is since it is now nearly beyond doubt

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for what he calls a "composite genre", by which he means "part bios and part didachê".
While his criticism may apply to some narrative-critical studies which have not fully incorpo-
rated the Matthean discourses, understanding Matthew's genre as βίος is not undercut by his
argument since it can include to greater or lesser degree elements of narrative and discourses.
Throughout his study, Burridge has stressed the kind of flexibility of genre that Cousland and
Nolland are suggesting.

147 Burridge 2004:248; cf. similarly Stanton 1993:70.
148 Burridge 2004:248.
149 McKnight 1986:12; cf. likewise Wright 1992:390.
150 Burridge 2004:289.
151 Burridge 2004:289; cf. also Burridge 1998.
152 Burridge 2004:289; cf. likewise Stanton (1993:45): "The evangelist's primary aim is to set
out the story of Jesus".
153 Burridge 2004:296; cf. also Bauckham 1998.
154 See Sim's (2001) useful rebuttal of "The Gospel for All Christians". But see also Burridge's
(2004:299) clarifying statement: "I have not argued that all gospels were written for all Chris-
tians everywhere, but that the implications of our work on the gospels as biography do sug-
gest that they were designed for a wider audience than just their own small community" (em-
phasis added).

that the author of Matthew was a Jewish believer in Jesus (see above), his story about Jesus, while extremely Israel-centric,[155] was written for a wider audience than his own *particular* community. Still, his audience appears to have been predominately, perhaps even exclusively, Jewish.[156]

1.4 Approach

The approach taken in addressing the question of the identity of the "lost sheep of the house of Israel" in Matthew's Gospel, on the one hand, consists of an inquiry into the Jewish background of the Messianic Shepherd-King motif. On the other hand, and in conjunction with the former, the approach will consist of a redactional study of Matthew's use of the motif and the logia which contain the phrase in the Gospel of Matthew.

A more specific description of the key features of this approach is necessary. First, with respect to redaction criticism, it is often assumed by critics that Matthew's audience was familiar with his sources (esp. Mark).[157] Although it is possible that *some* of Matthew's readers would have known Mark, there is no clear evidence in Matthew to support this historical speculation despite claims to the contrary. One can only assume the story of Jesus that Matthew tells is the story he wishes his readers to know.[158] In view of this, the present work seeks to navigate between the extremes of redaction and narrative criticism thereby heeding D. Verseput's caution:

> The exegete who wishes to confront the Evangelist face to face must do so on the ground of the entire text; to rush blindly past its signification in order to hurl one-self headlong into the mist surrounding its origin is to commit an act of irresponsible folly... It is the completed text which stands between the author and reader, and it is that text against which all meaning must ultimately be measured.[159]

I employ what could loosely be characterised as redactional criticism, since I am chiefly interested in understanding Matthew's unique interpretation of Jesus.[160] However, unlike typical redaction-critical studies my method does not focus primarily on the author's alteration of his putative sources, Mark or oth-

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155 Contra Luz 2005:31–32.
156 See recently Foster 2004:3–6 for similar view.
157 E.g. Carter 2004:47; Luz 2005:35.
158 See similarly Verseput 1986:4; Howell (1990:32) is right when he states: "It is reasonable to presume that many people read [or better, heard] one Gospel through as a whole literary story. To such an audience it was probably immaterial which evangelist wrote first, or what sources were used by the different evangelists".
159 Verseput 1986:5–8.
160 See Burridge's (2005:17) characterisation of redaction criticism; cf. also Smalley 1977:182, 185.

erwise.[161] Instead, the approach I use here is "a holistic variation of redaction criticism in which the work itself, viewed rigorously and persistently in its entirety, becomes the primary context for interpreting any part of it".[162] In this way, I will make only minimal reference to synoptic parallels in the subsequent discussion when useful as a "paradigmatic comparison".[163] This form of redaction criticism has been called "composition criticism" and has been widely used in Gospel studies over the last two decades.[164]

While composition criticism is both comparable and complementary to narrative critical approaches, there is at least one major difference.[165] Both narrative criticism and composition criticism place emphasis on reading the gospel as a literary whole, however, the latter differs fundamentally from the former in focus.[166] Whereas narrative criticism is preoccupied with the Evangelist's "story", composition criticism is interested in the author's theology. One narrative critic states, "Unity of theological perspective is something different from the unity of story".[167] Thus, in its preoccupation with the author's theological – or better Christological – perspective, compositional criticism remains firmly within the sphere of redaction criticism. Furthermore, composition criticism, as far as its interests are Christological, is equivalent to the "biographical-narratological" approach advocated by Burridge (see Gospel assumptions above).[168] S. McKnight's comment is characteristic of this approach:

> In describing Matthew's theology the scholar looks for the Evangelist's beliefs [about Jesus] as they are embedded in the First Gospel and considers what his beliefs [about Jesus] meant *in their cultural and religious contexts*.[169]

One of the most significant consequences of a composition critical approach for the present investigation is my conviction about the importance of history and extra-textual reference. Unlike narrative criticism, which in its extreme

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161 See Tuckett's (1987:119–22) description of criteria and methods used in "emendation criticism", i.e. commonplace redaction-critical approaches; cf. also recently Foster 2004:6–9.
162 Moore 1989:4.
163 See Verseput (1986:8) for the phrase.
164 See e.g. O'Toole's (O'Toole 1984) study of Luke and Kingsbury's (1975) study of Matthew.
165 See similarly Osborne 1991:211. In addition, Howell's (1990:26–32) presentation of a chaste literary criticism is in the end very similar to composition criticism. Perhaps the lines are blurring as biblical narrative criticism has matured. Mcknight (1988:135) makes the point that "the good of literary criticism has already been exposed through redaction criticism in its 'composition criticism' emphasis".
166 See Moore 1989:4–7.
167 Quote of Tannehill in Moore's (1989:6) discussion. Moore (1989:8) notes that "with narrative criticism a significant displacement occurs, "the theological purpose of the author" no longer being at the center".
168 See Burridge 2004:291; he has illustrated this approach in Burridge 2005. In the latter work (2005:33), Burridge describes the task this way: "an attempt to understand the 'narrative Christology' of each "biography".
169 McKnight 1992:532.

forms can be described as a "flight from history",[170] composition criticism, as an extension of redaction criticism, still keeps a foot firmly planted in history. Therefore, concerns with the issues of historical background, the real author and referentiality in the extra-textual world where that author lives and breathes remain in the foreground.[171]

Hence, a composition critical/biographical-narratological approach allows us to pursue what U. Luz recently called the "text in the world". Like him, I wish to take up the "narrative thread of Matthew's Gospel" reading it as a "text in the world" and not simply as "an autonomous textual world"; Luz succinctly states my own interest: "My concern is to understand Matthew's Jesus story in *its historical situation*".[172]

It is perhaps necessary to admit forthrightly the limitation of the approach I am using. Since my method brackets questions of sources and the historicity of traditions, the conclusions drawn from this study must be commensurate with the limitations of the method employed.[173] In view of this, conclusions resulting from the investigation will not be relevant to questions related to the quest for the so-called historical Jesus. Rather the conclusions will reveal something of the significance of Jesus for a Jewish group in the late first century.

This brings us to a second issue of method for our study related to the issue of audience. The thesis employs the audience-oriented criticism advocated by W. Carter.[174] Drawing on the work of P. Rabinowitz,[175] Carter attempts to read Matthew's gospel "as the author intended". Reading "as the author intended" is not meant to imply an activity of psychoanalysis whereby one seeks to know the inner intentions of the author. Instead, to read in this way is "to identify with and read along with th[e] audience *envisioned* by the author".[176] The theory suggests that when an author composes a text they imagine an ideal audience that will both understand everything in the text and be able to respond to it appropriately. This authorial audience will relate to an actual audience to a greater or lesser degree depending on issues of proximity between the actual author and audience.[177] Still, Rabinowitz argues that authors will "try to come as close to the actual audience as possible"; for to do otherwise will re-

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170 Note Rhoads' (1982:413) comment: "Narrative criticism brackets these historical questions and looks at the closed universe of the story-world".
171 See likewise Moore 1989:9.
172 Luz 2005:3, emphasis added. For a similar literary-historical approach see Saldarini 1994. Of his method he (Saldarini 1994:5) writes, "The final literary product, the gospel ... will be at the center of our textual analysis. At the same time, sustained attention will be given to both the narrative world and its referential relationship to first-century-Judaism".
173 See Tuckett's (1987:126) caution.
174 Carter 1994, 2000, 2004.
175 Rabinowitz 1987, 1996.
176 Carter 2004:4, emphasis added; cf. also Carter 1994:36.
177 See Rabinowitz 1996:216–17.

quire excessive explanations "before the text can work as intended".[178] The
text itself, then, bespeaks an author's assumptions about his imagined audi-
ence. Thus, as Carter states:

> The choice of words, the simple or complex style adopted, the inclusion or omis-
> sion of difficult concepts, the level of familiarity with the subject matter, *the
> choice of figures of speech*, allusions to places or events or figures, explanations of
> material, items that are ridiculed or held to be sacred, and the advocacy of certain
> beliefs and values, indicate assumptions an author is making about the audience.[179]

The primary implication of this approach for my thesis is that these particulari-
ties express "the historical conditionedness of the text and the first-century
setting of the audience".[180] A definitive conclusion on the *Sitz im Leben* of the
gospel of Matthew remains elusive, but there are plenty of indications within
the Gospel that the authorial audience is a mid to late first-century law-
observing Jewish populace. These Jewish believers in Jesus are probably lo-
cated somewhere within the borders of ideal Israel (i.e. the provinces of Ro-
man Judea and Syria).[181]

  Furthermore, in order for a modern reader to hear the text rightly, one
must seek to "become the authorial audience as much as possible".[182] With
respect to the question at hand, that is, the identity of "the lost sheep of the
house of Israel", this requires the acquisition of historical knowledge about
Jewish eschatological expectations related to the restoration of Israel. More
specifically, one must gain historical background about expectations in the air
during the first century concerning the Messianic Shepherd-King and the resto-
ration of Israel.

  In view of the last point made above, a final issue that requires comment
with respect to method is our approach to tradition history. A primary aspect of
this study is Matthew's reuse of the motif of the Messianic Shepherd-King,
which orbits around the traditions concerning David's kingship. Thus, inas-
much as Matthew falls within a Second Temple Jewish context of biblical in-
terpretation, it is perhaps useful to touch briefly on the use of biblical material
in an ancient Jewish milieu.

  The reuse of biblical images and motifs was widespread in the first century
as disparate Jewish groups sought to re-actualise biblical traditions in new his-

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178 Rabinowitz 1996:216.
179 Carter 2004:4, emphasis added.
180 Carter 1994:36.
181 While the prevailing view of the location of origin is Syrian Antioch, this view is by no
     means uncontested in recent research. See now Gale (2005:41–63) who argues for a Seppho-
     ris origin.
182 Rabinowitz 1996:217. This approach is similar to that advocated by C. H. Dodd in his Cam-
     bridge inaugural address. He stated: "The ideal interpreter would be one who has entered into
     the strange first-century world, has felt its whole strangeness, has sojourned in it until he has
     lived himself into it, thinking and feeling as one of those to whom the Gospel first came" (as
     quoted in Scott 1998:130).

torical contexts. Jewish sects in the Second Temple period, such as the Dead Sea Scroll community, strove to show their continuity with the biblical traditions in the formulation of their self-understanding.[183] Showing continuity was essential as these groups attempted to justify their claim to be the true people of God, both ethnically and religiously, over against the rest of ethnic Israel.[184]

This procedure is evident in the Dead Sea Scrolls as S. Talmon points out:

> The linguistic and stylistic affinities of the Qumran materials with biblical literature, especially the postexilic books, cannot be adequately explained solely by the chronological proximity of these two bodies of writings. They must rather be understood as revealing a striking spiritual consanguinity. The Qumran authors' predilection for depicting their own community, its structure, history, and future hopes, by having recourse to idioms, technical terms, and motifs that are manifestly drawn from biblical writings, discloses the Yahad's self-identification with biblical, especially postexilic, Israel and its conceptual universe.[185]

Talmon's observation can be equally applied to the Gospel of Matthew which makes significant use of biblical material in order to justify its interpretation of Jesus. One needs to look no further than the opening genealogy (Matt 1:1–17) to see Matthew's "striking spiritual consanguinity" with biblical literature.

Talmon also provides a useful description of the character of a biblical motif which, in effect, sets the agenda for the investigation of them:

> A literary motif is a representative complex theme which recurs with in the framework of the Old Testament in variable forms and connections. It is rooted in an actual situation of anthropological or historical nature. In its secondary literary setting, the motif gives expression to ideas and experiences inherent in the original situation, and is employed to *reactualize* in the audience the reaction of the participants in that original situation.[186]

With a motif like the Davidic shepherd, which developed through the biblical material as it was re-actualised by later biblical writers, it is necessary to trace the canonical trajectory of the motif from the origination point in the story of David to its reuse in the prophetic material. Furthermore, it is important to continue the study of the motif through the post-biblical literature to the point of interest (i.e. Matthew's Gospel) in order to discover further development and re-actualisation. This study, then, will provide a baseline from which to read Matthew. The acquisition of this kind of historical background information proves necessary if modern readers are to hear the text appropriately, in other words, if they are to join the authorial audience.

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183 See my (Willitts 2006) recent article on the Remnant of Israel in the Dead Sea Scrolls.
184 Talmon (1991:31) writes, "On this common platform of basic consent, each faction emphasized particular aspects in the execution of the shared tradition. "Dissent" expressed itself in differences of interpretation resulting in deviating norms" (emphasis added).
185 Talmon 1987:123–24.
186 Talmon 1966:39.

Related to the historical pursuit outlined above, an additional methodological point requires attention. Discussing the reuse of Jewish Scripture in the New Testament is a difficult task not least because there is no consensus among scholars concerning definition and method.[187] S. Porter and others have rightly insisted that New Testament scholars define their terms when discussing the reuse of Hebrew Scripture.[188] So, for the sake of clarity a brief definition of terms will be offered. The intention here is in no way to move the discussion forward by offering an analysis of various positions on the question. It must be acknowledged that the issues remain much contested and the debate is far from over. I wish simply to use provisional definitions, which have been found to be influential and allow the detailed work within the chapters to determine the results.

I will not differentiate between "citations" and "quotations", as some scholars do.[189] Instead, I will take them together to refer to the author's reproduction of words or construction of a piece of writing such that his choice of words or turns of phrase are derivative, identifiable and can be traced back convincingly to one Scripture text.[190] This definition includes both the so-called Matthean "formula quotations",[191] quotations introduced with an introductory convention, and other direct quotations.[192] Passages that can be characterised as direct quotations, Matthew 2:6 and 26:31–32, are studied in chapters 3 and 5.[193]

While the study of citations has potential methodological pitfalls, they are not nearly as methodologically problematic as allusions, as has been well

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187 For further study see the host of secondary literature now on the topic of definition and method with respect to the study of Paul's letters, Revelation and the NT in general: Hays 1989; Hollander 1981; Kowalski 2004:52–65; Lim 1997; Moritz 1966; Paulien 1988; Porter 1997; Schaefer 1995; Stanley 1992, 2004; Tenney 1958; Thompson 1991:28–36; Trudinger 1966; Wagner 2002. For issues related specifically to Matthew's use of the Hebrew Bible see: Beaton 2002; Foster 2003; Gundry 1967; Menken 2004; Miler 1999; Moo 1983; Rothfuchs 1969; Senior 1997; Stendahl 1968.

188 Porter (1997:94) argues, "In order to undertake any such investigation it is imperative that one define the categories under discussion, and then apply them rigorously".

189 Cf. Tenney's (1958:102) definitions of the terms "citation", and "quotation": "A citation is a fairly exact reproduction of the words of the original text, accompanied by a statement of the fact that they are being quoted and by an identification of the source. A quotation is a general reproduction of the original text, sufficiently close to give the meaning of its thought and to establish unquestionably the passage from which it is taken. The quotation may be loose, and still be a quotation"; cf. also Moo 1983:18–20; Paulien 1988:39.

190 Cf. Moo 1983:17–20; Schaefer 1995:68.

191 For a recent discussion of the formula quotations in Matthew see Beaton 2002:22–34; cf. also Davies and Allison 1997:573–77; Senior 1997.

192 Senior 1997:106; cf. also Porter's (1997:95) critique of a definition of "explicit or direct quotation or citation" that is overly limiting (e.g. Stanley's).

193 There is debate among scholars on whether 2:6 should be considered within the group of "formula quotations". Davies and Allison (1997:574, n. 2) chose not to include it because it appears in the narrative and is not formulated as a narratorial aside.

documented.[194] However, instead of labouring over a discussion of allusions here, it is enough to refer to studies such as D. Moo and more recently R. B. Hays. Moo, while acknowledging the difficulties inherent in identifying an intentional or deliberate allusion, argues that an allusion "utilizes scriptural words and phrases without introduction and without disrupting the flow of the narrative".[195] Furthermore, allusions, in contrast to quotations, may or may not be narrowed to a single biblical text. The latter point is predicated on the fact that allusive language in the New Testament can incorporate more than one text if the allusion is a word or phrase that is widespread in Jewish Scripture. Moo further contends that through a study of (1) the immediate context of the allusion, (2) the use of the Hebrew Scripture text elsewhere and (3) the author's characteristic style an interpreter can determine, in most cases, whether or not the author's allusion is "conscious".[196] In this latter case, the allusion can act as a "pointer" to a significant Hebrew Scripture context.[197] It is this type of allusion that J. Paulien has labelled a "direct allusion".[198] The texts discussed in chapter 4 (Matthew 9:36) along with chapters 7 and 8 (Matthew 10:6 and 15:24 respectively) contain just such an allusion.

1.5 Limitations

In the previous sections of the introduction, I have already had occasion to discuss certain limitations endemic to this thesis. In every research project,

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194 E.g. Beaton 2002:18, n. 16; Porter 1997.

195 Moo 1983:20.

196 The terms "conscious" and "unconscious" may not be the most appropriate to use in this context, since it is impossible to get into the psychology of the author. Such terms as "deliberate" or "intentional" which can be argued on the basis of the narrative itself may be preferred (cf. e.g. Floyd 2003:226). See Hays's (1989:29–33) more through criteria for identifying an intertextual allusions: (1) Availability, (2) Volume, (3) Recurrence, (4) Thematic Coherence, (5) Historical Plausibility, (6) History of Interpretation, and (7) Satisfaction. See also Wagner 2002:9–13. See most recently Chae 2004 who employs this method extensively in his study of the Davidic Shepherd tradition.

197 Moo 1983:20.

198 Paulien 1988:39. Paulien suggests a "direct allusion" is an occurrence of "a word, an idea, or brief phrase, in which the author intends to point the reader to a previous work as a means of expanding the reader's horizons. The portion of text alluded to can only be fully understood in the light of its context within the original work". He speaks of a second way material can be indirectly referenced with the term "allusive echo", following Hollander (1981; cf. also Hays [1989], whose influential work appeared subsequent to Paulien). In this case the author "picked up an idea that can be found in previous literature, but was probably unaware of the original source. The idea was in the air of the environment in which the author lived" (Paulien 1988:40). Thus, with the case of an allusive echo, there is no contextual evidence suggesting the author's conscious intention in the shaping of the text to import the background of the allusion into the present context. As will be demonstrated in the following chapters, the allusions considered in this thesis are all "direct allusions", Matt 9:36; 10:6, and 15:24. A more thorough methodological discussion, then, is not necessary.

there will be limitations placed on the work that are unavoidable given the factors of time, space and the ability of the researcher, and this is to say nothing of the limitations created by the nature of the research question. In the present work, the intentional limitation primarily surrounds the study of the Shepherd motif in the Jewish Scriptures, Second Temple literature and Matthew's Gospel. On the one hand, my treatment of the Shepherd-King tradition in the Jewish Scriptures and Second Temple literature makes no attempt to provide either a comprehensive study of general shepherd imagery or to deal with passages in which YHWH is addressed as Israel's Shepherd-King. Both of these topics deserve focused attention in their own right, but not here. My interest lies in the application of the Shepherd-King motif specifically to David as Israel's shepherd *par excellence* and the Messianic Shepherd-King expectations spawned by the Davidic covenant (2 Sam 7). The two Shepherding roles (i.e. YHWH's and David's) are certainly not unrelated. However, the research question of this thesis dictates that the focus be on *only* those passages that orbit around David and Davidic expectations.[199]

On the other hand, in Matthew's Gospel the research is also intentionally narrowed to focus on the Messianic Shepherd-King motif as background for the phrase "the lost sheep of the house of Israel". I divided Part 2 of the thesis into three chapters each focusing on a specific Matthean text. The selection of the three passages is not self-evident, and it is necessary to justify, at least in a preliminary manner, the selection of the passages under investigation since there are numerous examples of Matthew's use of shepherd imagery in the Gospel.[200]

The concern here is not the image generally considered, *but a particular use of the shepherd image as a symbol for the eschatological Davidic Kingship*. It is quite possible that all the shepherd imagery in Matthew derives from this particular use of the image, but the demonstration of this point is not in the purview of this thesis. Thus, the presence of the shepherd imagery alone will not warrant a passage's consideration in this section. There are, to be sure, several passages in the First Gospel that could have arguably been handled in Part 2 and perhaps suggest the need for further study at a later stage; they are: Matthew 2:6; 9:36; 26:31; 10:6 (15:24); 12:9–14; 12:22–30; 14:13–21; 15:32–38; 18:12–14; 21:1–12; 24:30–31; 25:31–46, and 27:3–10.[201] While all of these passages hold the potential of bolstering the argument of this section, in order to limit the scope of the exploration and to ensure that I build the case on the surest of foundations, I have only dealt with the three passages that can be

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199 For a comparison of approaches see Chae 2004, who attempts a much more comprehensive study of the Shepherd tradition in both the Jewish scriptures and Second Temple literature. I think his approach runs the risk of being too broad and not discriminate enough.

200 See Martin 1975 for a comprehensive catalogue of shepherd imagery in Matthew.

201 Refer also to Martin's (1975) comprehensive list.

clearly and *convincingly* shown to contain the Messianic Shepherd-King motif.[202]

For this purpose, I have established a set of prescriptive criteria. Chapter 2 demonstrates that unambiguous instances of the reuse of the Messianic Shepherd-King tradition by both the exilic and post-exilic prophets as well as ancient Jewish writers included two affective elements: despair and hope. On one side, the prophets bemoan the conduct of Israel's leaders and offer a scathing critique for failing to perform their God-appointed task of protecting and providing for the people. What is more, the prophets (and YHWH) lay full blame for Israel's exiled condition at their feet. On the other, the prophets proclaim a hopeful future as YHWH promises both a punitive response to the sins of Israel's past shepherds and a restoration of Israel to the Land along with the establishment of a new Davidic figure who will righteously and justly *shepherd* Israel. The verb רעה in these predictions has, as its point of departure, the depiction of David in Former Prophets and the Psalms as both *statesman* and *national leader*.

The two constituent components of the Shepherd-King motif can be effectively transformed into an apparatus for certifying the presence of the motif in a given Matthean pericope. We can be relatively certain, then, that a passage in Matthew contains the Shepherd-King motif if it includes the following rudiments: (1) specific shepherd/sheep terminology, (2) a political context which contains an element of despair over and/or a critique of (or counter-picture to) the leadership of Israel, and (3) a reference to the Davidide, or a citation or direct allusion to a Davidic Shepherd-King prophetic text. This is not at all to suggest that if one or more of these are absent then the motif is *not* present. However, for the sake of this thesis, only those passages meeting the three criteria are considered. When these criteria are used as a filter, three pericopae, in addition to Matthew 10:6 and 15:24 ("the lost sheep" logia), present themselves: (1) Matthew 2:1–6, (2) 9:35–38, and (3) 26:31–35.

1.6 Procedure

The procedure adopted in this thesis may be compared to a series of concentric circles. The study is divided into three parts with each serving as a circle of context within which the others are viewed, ultimately illuminating the logia (see figure 1 below). The outer circle consisting of chapter 2 considers the Messianic Shepherd-King motif in its native Jewish milieu. This involves first a consideration of the origin of the tradition in the historical and the prophetic

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202 Of the passages listed, perhaps the most likely candidate to be considered an instance of the Messianic Shepherd-King motif is Matt 25:31–46. For a detailed discussion of this passage which considers it within the Davidic Shepherd-King tradition see Chae 2004:326–46.

literature of the Jewish Scriptures. Then, following this trajectory, relevant literature of the Second Temple period is considered.

The next circle of the interpretation, Part 2, consisting of chapters 3–6, discusses the Matthean use of the Messianic Shepherd-King motif. Chapters 3–5 examine Matthew 2:6, 9:36 and 26:31 respectively and establish the presence of the motif in Matthew. The final chapter in Part 2 (ch. 6) defends the claim, over against the prevailing consensus, that Matthew maintains an abiding hope for territorial restoration.

Figure 1. Research Procedure Illustrated

In the final circle of the dissertation, Part 3, Matthew 10:6 and 15:24 are specifically studied in two separate chapters (chs. 7 & 8) within the context of Matthew's Gospel and the Messianic Shepherd-King motif. A final chapter (ch. 9) will summarise the results, point forward into future research directions and discuss how this thesis relates to other aspects of Matthean thought.

Part One

Introduction to Part One

The Messianic Shepherd-King in Ancient Judaism

Part 1 consists of one substantial chapter. Chapter 2 initiates the three-fold procedure by investigating the Messianic Shepherd-King motif in ancient Judaism. This chapter, the longest of the thesis, first considers the origin of the motif in the Former Prophets and the prophetic literature of the Jewish Scriptures. Following the scriptural study, an investigation of the trajectory of interpretation and re-appropriation of the motif is traced through the relevant Second Temple literature.

The argument of Part 1 is that the Messianic Shepherd-King motif, while not widely used in the Second Temple period, did function significantly for at least one sectarian Jewish community in first century Palestine, namely, the community who composed and edited the *Psalms of Solomon*. The motif, which was rooted in the eternal promise of Davidic kingship, functioned as a vehicle of hope for a political-national restoration of the kingdom of Israel in a restored Land.

Chapter Two

The Davidic Shepherd-King and His Flock

"I will set up over them one shepherd, my servant David,
and he will feed them: he shall feed them
and be their shepherd"
Ezekiel 34:23

2.1 Introduction

In the introduction, we compared the procedure of this thesis to a series of three concentric circles. The outer circle, which investigates the Davidic Shepherd-King motif in the context of the ancient Jewish conceptual world, is the subject of this chapter. This outer circle provides the theological, cultural and political background for the investigations of Matthew's use of the Shepherd-King motif in Part 2 and "the lost sheep of the house of Israel" phrase in Part 3. The aim of this chapter, then, is to imbibe the first-century Jewish milieu and grasp, as best as possible, two complementary questions: (1) how did the Davidic Shepherd-King motif function in first-century Messianic expectation? And (2) what was its meaning? In other words, to what end did authors use the Davidic Shepherd-King motif in their formulation of Messianic expectations and what might a first-century Palestinian Jew have thought when reference was made to the Messianic Shepherd-King and his flock? What kind of royal figure would have come to mind? What would have been the essential features of that individual and what were the implications for their concept of Messiah? Further, how would his sheep have been understood? What were their nature and essence?

In order to gain this kind of understanding – as C. H. Dodd said, enter "into the strange first-century world" of ideas and expectations[1] – the chapter will examine the Jewish scriptural setting of the Davidic Shepherd-King motif. In addition, the development of the motif will be traced from its canonical inception in the early traditions about King David to its subsequent reuse in both the prophetic and post-biblical literature.

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1   See ch. 1 for Dodd's quotation.

Concerning the Second Temple literature, initially a net was cast very widely which included investigations into early Rabbinic sources, Philo, Josephus, the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Jewish Pseudepigrapha writings. The focus of the search was intentionally narrow given both the thesis' concentration on Davidic expectations and the findings in the biblical material. As will become evident in the discussion below, the search was limited to contexts that combined linguistic reference to a Davidic figure and shepherd imagery.[2] Although the net was cast wide, the catch was surprising meagre. One immediate conclusion from the exploration is that the motif was not used extensively among Jewish writers in the Second Temple period.[3] This finding should not surprise, given the fact that Messianic expectation, on the one hand, was not a widespread phenomenon in Second Temple Judaism, and a David-royal Messiah, on the other hand, was only one of several kinds of Messianic figures.[4] Nevertheless, the particular sources where the motif is used and their historical and theological proximity to Matthew's Gospel could serve as an important backdrop for understanding its use by the First Evangelist.

Accordingly, chapter 2 is divided into three sections. The first is concerned with examining the theme in Jewish Scripture and tracing the development of the Davidic Shepherd-King motif from the early traditions about David through the post-exilic prophets and the Psalms. This will by no means be a detailed exegesis of the biblical passages. The purpose is to provide an overview of the motif in Scripture as well as the development of the tradition. Such an exploration will accomplish three outcomes: it will (1) establish the inextricable link between the royal Davidic figure and the Shepherd-King imagery, (2) show the political nature of the motif, and (3) expose the constituent elements of the motif *in situ*. In addition, this section will justify the scope of the chapter which is concerned only with the Davidic Shepherd-King traditions.

There is much that could be said about YHWH's role as Israel's shepherd in the Jewish Scriptures, and, indeed, the theme is not inconsequential to our interests.[5] Yet the limitation of our study is similar to R. Hunziker-Rodewald's recent work on YHWH as shepherd of Israel. Her study, entitled *Hirt und Herde*, only briefly addresses the Davidic Shepherd-King.[6] Further, in her brief

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2   See Chae 2004:138 for a similar methodology.
3   *Contra* Chae's (2004:136–255) analysis and despite his lengthy discussions of 1 Enoch 85–90, Qumran, and *Tg. Ezek.*
4   On the variegated Messianism of the 2nd Temple Period see discussions by Charlesworth 1979; Charlesworth, Lichtenberger, and Oegema 1998; Chester 1991; Collins 1994, 1995:3–4; Evans 2000, 2000; Horbury 1998; Klausner 1956; Laato 1997; Oegema 1998; Pomykala 1995; Sanders 1992:295–98; Schiffman 1992.
5   For YHWH as Israel's shepherd see: Gen 48:15; 49:24; Psa 23; 28:9; 74:1; 77:20; 78:52–55; 79:13; 80:1; 95:7; Mic 2:12–13; 4:6–8; 7:14–15; Isa 40:10–11; 49:9–13; Jer 23:2; 31:10; 50:19; Ezek 34:31.
6   Hunziker-Rodewald 2001:46–50, 62–72.

discussion of the shepherd and sheep in the Second Temple sources she fo-
cuses exclusively on depictions of YHWH as shepherd, with no discussion of
the Davidic expectation.[7] This chapter will hope to complement her fine con-
tribution, although it is clearly not as detailed a treatment of the Jewish Scrip-
ture.

The two subsequent sections each explore the Messianic Shepherd-King
motif in one particular ancient Jewish source. The middle section investigates
passages among the Dead Sea Scrolls which may contain the motif, while the
final section of the chapter explores the important, and extensive, use of the
Messianic Shepherd-King motif in *Psalms of Solomon* 17.

2.2 The Davidic Shepherd-King Motif
in the Jewish Scripture

It has been widely noted that the historians of ancient Israel, whose works are
now a part of the biblical canon, avoided the use of the title "shepherd" both
for the description of their patriarchs and their kings. Surprisingly, no figure in
ancient Israel was given the title shepherd and this seems not to be coinciden-
tal, given the widespread application of the title in the Ancient Near East.[8] Yet,
insofar as the avoidance of the title is commonplace in the historical books, it
is striking that David is so closely aligned with the function of a shepherd.[9] In
fact, R. Hunziker-Rodewald seems correct when she notes that from the per-
spective of the narrative, the function of shepherding is the starting point for
conceptions of David's career and the presentation of his kingship is a "shep-
herdship" (*Hirtenschaft*).[10] The obvious implication, according to the authors
of Jewish Scripture, is that David is Israel's Shepherd-King, although the title
is never used.[11]

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7   Hunziker-Rodewald 2001:205–12.
8   Hamp 1990; Hunziker-Rodewald 2001:16–33; Otto 2004:135–36.
9   Hunziker-Rodewald (2001:46) correctly points out that although other figures in the Hebrew
     Bible were characterised as shepherds, e.g. Moses (cf. Exod 3:1) and Amos (cf. Amos 7:14),
     before the start of their divinely ordained vocations, in their subsequent duties in YHWH's
     service their identity as shepherds did not continue to have meaning: "Während aber bei
     Mose (Ex 3,1) und Amos (Am 7,14f) deren Hirtentätigkeit für den weiteren Verlauf ihrer
     'Karriere' keine Bedeutung mehr hat, scheint diese bei David manchenorts gerade als Aus-
     gangspunkt genommen, dessen Herrschaft im übertragenen Sinne als Hirtenschaft zu zeich-
     nen".
10   Hunziker-Rodewald 2001:46; see note 9 above and Birch 1998:1233; Brueggemann 1990:
     119; Cartledge 2001:199.
11   Mauchline (1971:215) notes that the verb רעה in 2 Sam 5:2, "you shall be shepherd of my
     people", is the first use of this verb in the OT with reference to the king of Israel; see likewise
     McCarter 1984:132.

In contrast, the prophets are far less reluctant to use the shepherd imagery to describe their leaders. Notably, Jeremiah is the most prolific user of the imagery and the emphasis is most often on the bad shepherds of Israel. What is more, the portrayal of David as Israel's Shepherd-King became codified in the prophetic books as a polemical statement of shepherd critique (*Hirtenkritik*) along with the promise of the coming of a new Davidic Shepherd-King (*Hirtenideologie*). The Psalms, by contrast, while having much to say about David and his kingship, only rarely make use of the motif.

2.2.1 David as Shepherd of his Father(s)'s Flock

Presumably, the story of David could be summarised with several different ideas. Yet, the Bible's own characterisation of David's story is chiefly the transformation from shepherding his father's flock to shepherding (leading) YHWH's (cf. 2 Sam 7:8; Psa 78:70–71): "I took you from the pasture, from following the sheep, that you should be prince over my people Israel". D. Brueggemann states, "the entire narrative of David's rise is staged from shepherd boy (1 Sam 16:11) to shepherd king ... It is Yahweh's overriding intention in the narrative that the shepherd boy should become the shepherd of Israel".[12] It is no surprise, then, that from the very outset of the narrative of David in the MT in 1 Samuel 16, the function of shepherding is closely linked to David's narrative character. R. Hunziker-Rodewald similarly notes: "Sowohl in 1 Sam 17,12–31 wie auch in 1 Sam 16,1–13 und 2 Sam [and 5:2] 7,8 stellt Davids Hirte-Sein ein unverzichtbares erzählerisches Element dar, das die Identität des jungen David ein für allemal festschreibt".[13]

The first time a reader meets David in the biblical narrative it is as the shepherd of his father's flock. This, of course, is the familiar story of David's anointing by Samuel. Samuel is commanded by God to go to the family of Jesse, the Bethehemite, and anoint one of his sons to be the next king of Israel (1 Sam 16:1). Parading his sons before Samuel, Jesse neglects to summon his youngest son David. However, after considering all of Jesse's sons, save David, Samuel asks Jesse if all are present. Jesse admits that one is out "tending the flock" (1 Sam 16:11). Having summoned David, the Lord tells Samuel that he is to anoint David the next king of Israel, because "he is the one" (1 Sam 16:12).

The characterisation of David as a shepherd is continued in the narrative in the account of David's appointment into the service of Saul as a musician in 1 Samuel 16. Saul summoned David by sending messengers to Jesse with the

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12   Brueggemann 1990:237–38.
13   Hunziker-Rodewald 2001:47.

request: "Send me your son David, who is with the sheep" (16:19).[14] Interestingly, according to the narrative, Saul emphasises the fact that David is with the flock, though his councillors do not mention that David is a shepherd in their description of him in 16:18.[15]

Secondly, David's identity as a shepherd is also central to the story of David and Goliath (1 Sam 17:15, 34, 40). In 1 Samuel 17:15, the narrator again notes David's assignment of shepherding his father's flock when he comments that: "David would go back and forth from attending on Saul to shepherd his father's flock at Bethlehem".[16] Further, as the story unfolds, David is brought before Saul, who has heard that David desires to fight Goliath (1 Sam 17:31–32). As a result of this encounter, David convinces Saul that he is capable of defeating Goliath by appealing to his exploits as a shepherd-warrior (1 Sam 17:34–36).[17] In describing the ensuing events, the narrator again takes the opportunity to highlight David as a shepherd. As David prepared for the battle, he refused to wear Saul's armour and instead took his shepherding staff, placed a few stones in his shepherd's bag and brought his sling (1 Sam 17:40).[18] David defeated Goliath with the simple implements of a shepherd.[19]

David ceases to be the shepherd of his father's sheep after this victory as the narrator notes: "Saul took him on that day and would not let him return to his father's house" (1 Sam 18:2). Moreover, subsequent to the victory, David became a successful military commander for the army of Israel: "And David went out (וַיֵּצֵא דָוִד) and was successful wherever Saul sent him, so that Saul set him over the men of war" (18:5; cf. 18:13, 16). With this statement the narrator begins to transform the essence of David's shepherding activity.

This transformation and the essence of his new figurative task, as the shepherd of YHWH's people, become clearer in light of 2 Samuel 5:2. In this context, all the tribal leaders of Israel join together to make David king over a united kingdom. When the leaders approach David in Hebron they first ac-

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14 See likewise Cartledge 2001:209.
15 See similarly Brueggemann 1990:126; Cartledge 2001:209.
16 Note that in the shorter version of LXXB 1 Sam 17:12–31 is missing. For a discussion of the text of the OG of 1 Sam 17–18 see Pisano 1984:78–86; also see Dietrich 2002:61–64 for a comparison of the narratives in the MT and the OG.
17 See correspondingly Birch 1998:1111; Brueggemann 1990:130–31; Klein 1983:179; Mauchline 1971:134.
18 Some commentators perceive a tension in the story between the portrayal of David as a warrior and as young inexperienced shepherd-boy. For example Hunziker-Rodewald (2001:46–47; cf. also 2003:168) claims that, according to the narrative, David appears before Goliath not as a shepherd, but as a youth: "Dieser [David] tritt in den V.32ff nicht als Hirt, sondern als Jugendlicher entgegen (V.42: נער)", and of the shepherd motif in the story she asserts: "Das Hirtenmotiv ist weder für die Darstellung von Davids Sieg noch für dessen Rezeption in 1 Sam 19,5 konstitutiv". She assumes that the references to David's shepherding exploits in the story (e.g. 17:12–31 and 17:34–37) are secondary additions.
19 See equally Bar-Efrat 2004:595; Cartledge 2001:218–19; Klein 1983:179.

knowledge David's hereditary connection with them (cf. 5:1 = הִנְנוּ עַצְמְךָ וּבְשָׂרְךָ אֲנָחְנוּ) and then say (5:2): "In times past, when Saul was king over us, it was you who led out and brought in Israel. And the Lord said to you, 'You shall be shepherd of my people Israel, and you shall be prince over Israel'". The clause "it was you who led out and brought in Israel" (אַתָּה הָיִיתָ מוֹצִיא וְהַמֵּבִי אֶת־יִשְׂרָאֵל) is an echo of the military activity of David spoken of in 18:5 (13, 16) and denotes David's new figurative shepherding activity.[20] The final clause reveals the transformation of David's shepherding activity through the parallelism of the terms רעה ("shepherd") and נגיד ("prince"):[21]

אַתָּה תִרְעֶה אֶת־עַמִּי אֶת־יִשְׂרָאֵל
וְאַתָּה תִּהְיֶה לְנָגִיד עַל־יִשְׂרָאֵל[22]

The narrator's use of the term ידנ (cf. also 2 Sam 7:8–11) within the context of the military activity of David reveals that it is probably to be taken as a military title (*Heerbannführer-Titel*). This view is further supported by its use elsewhere in 1 and 2 Samuel.[23] David's assignment to shepherd YHWH's people and his appointment as Israel's prince is to be understood as an officially sanctioned form of what David had already been doing as a solider in Saul's service – when he led Israel out and brought them in.[24] Thus, the characterisation of David as a shepherd has been transformed. The image first was used to denote David's youth and inexperience. Now, in this new context, it designates a military and political leader: David, the Shepherd-King of Israel.[25]

The depiction of the shepherd David as national monarch is perhaps an intertextual allusion to Numbers 27:17 where the idea of "going out and bringing in" is used in coordination with the shepherding of YHWH's people. Moses petitions YHWH to appoint a person to succeed him who *"shall go out before them and come in before them* (אֲשֶׁר־יֵצֵא לִפְנֵיהֶם וַאֲשֶׁר יָבֹא לִפְנֵיהֶם), who shall lead them out and bring them in" so that Israel will not be *"like sheep without a shepherd"* (כַּצֹּאן אֲשֶׁר אֵין־לָהֶם רֹעֶה).[26] This same negative conception of a shepherdless (*hirtenlosen*) flock is used again in 1 Kings 22:17 (2 Chron 18:16) to

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20 Interpreters have understood the clause to imply military leadership; see e.g. Anderson 1989: 75; Brueggemann 1990:237; McCarter 1984:132; Stoebe 1994:155. The translators of the JPS's Tanakh rendered the clause "who led Israel in war".

21 See similarly Cartledge 2001:411; Hunziker-Rodewald 2001:47–48.

22 It is perhaps noteworthy that *Tg. Jonathan* to 2 Sam 5:2 renders the Hebrew clauses אַתָּה תִרְעֶה and וְאַתָּה תִּהְיֶה לְנָגִיד as את תפרנים ("you will be leader") and ואת תהוי למלכא ("you will be king"), respectively. Here, then, is evidence of the Targumic tendency, on the one hand, to provide an interpretive gloss for רעה (cf. e.g. *Tg.* Jer. 23:1–6), which effectively eliminates the Shepherd-King motif. This is perhaps a significant reason for its absence in the early Second Temple period. On the other hand, the Targumist's makes explicit the royal nature of the נגיד, rendering it with מלך.

23 See e.g. 1 Sam 9:16; 10:1 (LXX); 2 Sam 7:8; for discussion see Schmidt 1970:170; Hunziker-Rodewald 2001:48, n. 28; McCarter 1980:178–79.

24 See likewise Hunziker-Rodewald 2003:48; McCarter 1984:132.

25 See correspondingly Birch 1998:1233; Brueggemann 1990:237–38; Cartledge 2001:411.

26 See also McCarter 1984:132.

describe a military defeat. In this passage Micaiah prophesies against Ahab, king of Israel, saying: "I saw all of Israel scattered on the mountains, *as sheep that have no shepherd*" (כַּצֹּאן אֲשֶׁר אֵין־לָהֶם רֹעֶה). YHWH's appointment and in-stallation of David as Israel's Shepherd-King and the establishment of his dy-nasty forever (2 Sam 7:8–16)[27] was to ensure that Israel would not be in such a vulnerable and desperate condition. Moreover, the Davidic covenant contained in 2 Samuel 7:5–16 (cf. also Psa 89:20–38; 1 Chron 17:4–14), as J. McKenzie correctly observed, is the fount of all the subsequent expectations of a new David Shepherd-King:

> This certainty that David's kingdom is the irrevocable beginning of an eternal de-velopment, a movement towards a universal goal, since Yahweh, who will extend His kingdom over all nations, has united Himself in David with the kings of Israel in an eternal community of interest as a father with his sons, is *the source of Psalms 2, 110, and all the prophecies concerning the house of David*.[28]

In summary, one thing that clearly stands out in the biblical narrative of David is his shepherd identity. From the very beginning of the story we meet David the shepherd boy. Additionally, the narrative makes plain that the story of David is best summed up in YHWH's taking of David from shepherding his father's flock and installing him as leader of his people Israel.

In the process, the shepherding activity is altered from a literal vocation of shepherding to a figurative act of leading. Moreover, just as the vocation is transformed within the narrative, so also the function of the shepherd activity is changed. In the early stages of the story David's shepherding function is used to show his youth, inexperience and faith, with only hints of a more war-rior-like function. However, Hunziker-Rodewald has rightly observed that David's shepherding activity, after being linked to his military career by the narrator in both 1 Samuel 18 and 2 Samuel 5:2, is transformed into an activity of protecting Israel and defeating its enemies: "Davids kriegerisch-militäri-scher 'Karriere' entsprechend wird in 2Sam 5,2 dann der Israel als נגיד Wei-dende als der offiziell zum Schutz von Jhwhs Volk Beauftragte präsentiert".[29]

In the context of 2 Samuel's narrative, an understanding of the nature of the Davidic Shepherd-King's flock is easily ascertained. We can appeal to two passages to settle the question. First, 2 Samuel 5:1–2 (1 Chron 11:1), which we have already addressed, suggests that the flock of YHWH, over whom David will shepherd, is political-national Israel. The introductory statement of 5:1 that "all the tribes of Israel came to David" confirms this.[30] Having already

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27 The term עוֹלָם appears 8 times in 2 Sam 7:13, 16, 24–29.
28 McKenzie 1947:214, emphasis added.
29 Hunziker-Rodewald 2003:50.
30 Characteristic of Chronicles' interest in a united kingdom the text here reads: "All Israel gathered to David" (וַיִּקָּבְצוּ כָל־יִשְׂרָאֵל אֶל־דָּוִיד).

reigned over Judah, David would now reign over a united nation of Israel and Judah (5:5).

A second passage which points in this same direction is 2 Samuel 24:17 (1 Chron 21:17) where the peculiar story of God's judgement of David for taking the census takes place. After choosing to be at the mercy of YHWH rather than at the hand of an enemy, David's sin causes the death of 70,000 of his people from "Dan to Beer-sheba" (24:15). As the angel of death is poised to attack Jerusalem, David entreats him in 24:17: "Behold, I have sinned, and I have done wickedly. But these sheep (וְאֵלֶּה הַצֹּאן), what have they done? Please let your hand be against me and against my father's house". Clearly from the context "these sheep" refer to all the citizens of territorial Israel: all the people from Dan to Beer-sheba who suffered the judgement of YHWH. There can be no doubt, then, that at least in these narratives, the Shepherd-King's flock are members of *political and territorial Israel*, the twelve tribes without exclusion.

2.2.2 The Davidic Shepherd-King Motif in the Prophets

The hesitation on the part of the historical writers to label Jewish kings and political leaders as "shepherds" was not carried on by the prophets of the exilic and post-exilic period. In fact, the label "shepherd" is used often in the prophets and especially by Jeremiah to designate both the political leaders of Israel and of foreign nations (e.g. Jer 6:3; 12:10). Furthermore, they invoked the Shepherd-King motif as an affective response. From the passages in Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Micah and Zechariah (where the motif is employed) two antithetical affective elements are always present: despair and hope. From one standpoint, the prophets bemoan the conduct of Israel's leaders and offer a scathing critique for failing to perform their God-appointed task of protecting and providing for the people. What is more, the prophets (and YHWH) lay full blame for Israel's exiled condition at their feet. From another standpoint, the prophets proclaim a hopeful future as YHWH promises both a punitive response to the sins of Israel's past shepherds and a restoration of Israel to the Land along with the establishment of a new Davidic figure who will righteously and justly shepherd Israel. The verb רעה in these predictions, then, has as its point of departure the depiction of David as both statesman and monarch.[31] What is more, the Shepherd-King's flock is the population within unified national Israel who are under one monarch.

Micah 4:14–5:5. The Bible presents Micah's prophetic career as contemporaneous with Isaiah in the late eighth century B.C. The book begins with a superscription that associates his prophetic activity with the reigns of three

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31   See likewise Hunziker-Rodewald 2001:62.

Judean kings: Jotham (742–735 B.C.), Ahaz (735–715 B.C.) and Hezekiah (715–687 B.C.). This era of Israel's history saw the fall of the Northern Kingdom to Tiglath-pileser III and the Assyrian Empire (722 B.C.), while the demise of the Davidic monarchy and the Southern Kingdom was also anticipated.

It is likely that 4:14 (ET=5:1)–5:5 continues the theme of "from 'now' to 'then'" which has served as the substructure of chapter 4.[32] Micah's text alternates between scenes of judgement and promise. Here 4:14, on one reading, envisages a despairing situation of occupation and political humiliation,[33] as the ruler of Israel has been "struck on the cheek with a staff".[34] Although this does not necessarily imply the downfall of the Davidic monarchy, it seems likely that, in the wake of the Assyrian conquest of Israel and Sennacherib's invasion of Judah and siege of Jerusalem (cf. 2 Kings 18:13–37), the humiliation visualised here is a portent of the fall of the Davidic dynasty.[35]

Earlier in the prophecy, in chapter 3, Micah has indicted the "rulers of the House of Jacob", and the "chiefs of the House of Israel" (3:9) for their unjust practices and announced the coming judgement on Jerusalem (3:12). So, there is despair over the desperate situation Israel finds itself in due to the inept and selfish leadership of the royal house. On account of this, YHWH will judge Israel and destroy both the Davidic dynasty and its capital city. Yet, at the same time, Micah announces the future rescue of Israel. At a time in the future, after the labour of daughter Zion has come to an end[36] and the reconstitution of the nation as a federation of tribes is complete,[37] YHWH will install a new Davidic ruler, who will rule Israel on his behalf (לִי – 5:1) and will shepherd Israel "by the might of the Lord and the power of his name" (5:3). The result will be that the "remnant of Jacob" (cf. 5:6, 7) will live, once and for all, securely in the Land of Israel (5:3).[38] The security of *Eretz* Israel is maintained

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32 See Allen 1976:339–40.
33 The same Hebrew verb גדד can be translated "slash yourself" or "gather in troops". A number of English translations are based on the latter meaning (e.g. NASB, NIV, NRSV); cf. Allen 1976:341.
34 Allen (1976:341) points out the humiliating connotation that the depiction of the king being slapped carries; cf. e.g. Job 16:10; Lam 3:30.
35 Cf. Allen 1976:341.
36 Simundson (1996:571; cf also McKane 1998:159) suggests that the mother in labour should not be understood as the mother of a new king in connection with Isa 7:14 as it is sometimes interpreted. Rather the image is a promise that the painful ordeal in the present (cf. Micah 4:9–10) will eventually lead to a glorious result. Read this way, he asserts that it is probably addressed to a people either about to enter exile or already in exile.
37 See Allen (1976:345–46) who suggests that the reference to the return of the brothers is likely the hope for the regathering and reunification of the tribes of the Northern Kingdom of Israel with the Southern Kingdom of Judah.
38 While the phrase "to the ends of the land" (עַד־אַפְסֵי־אָרֶץ) in 5:3 may refer to the extreme limits of the then-known world as it often does (see Psa 2:9 below), in this context, which stresses "our land" and "our borders" (5:5b), the phrase seems not describe a world Empire or universal Empire as some have suggested (cf. Allen 1976:347), but rather serves as a basis for the

by the vigilant watch-care of the Davidic Shepherd-King (5:4–5), who, with the help of "under-shepherds", will defend the "borders" (בִּגְבוּלֵנוּ = 5:5b [EV 5:6b]) of Israel from any and every future invading force (e.g. Assyria).

Jeremiah 23:1–8; 50:6. Jeremiah's prophetic career, according to the biblical presentation, took place in the late seventh and early sixth centuries B.C. According to the book (Jer 1:2–3), his career spanned the reigns of Josiah (627 B.C.) to Zedekiah (586 B.C.) and took place during religious reforms of Josiah (622 B.C.) and the destruction of Jerusalem and Judah (586 B.C.) as well as the exile of its leading citizens to Babylon (596–586 B.C.).

While commentators assume that 23:1–8 represents three separate oracles or sermons loosely knitted together,[39] the Shepherd-King motif and the theme of the restoration of the house of David dominate the passage. The first four verses summarise the preceding section of judgement (21:11–22:30) against the kings of Judah (cf. 21:11a – "and to the house of Judah say"). Judah's shepherds are castigated for neglecting their God-ordained responsibility as the "house of David" (cf. 21:12) to rule over Judah. Perhaps the most grievous example in the time of Jeremiah was Jehoiakim's (cf. 22:13–17) oppressive and unjust governance (c. 608–598 B.C.). The text, through the emphatic construction of 23:2: "You have scattered my flock (אַתֶּם הֲפִצֹתֶם אֶת־צֹאנִי) and have driven them away", makes the point that although the Exile is God's doing, it is ultimately the result of the misrule of the shepherds. On account of this, YHWH promises to execute judgement on them for their evil deeds. In addition, YHWH promises not only to judge, but to restore the nation to the Land (23:3–4): "Then I will gather the remnant of my flock ... and I will bring them back to their fold" and place over them shepherds "who will care for them". These words of hope are made more specific in the second section, 23:5–6, when YHWH promises to install a new Davidide ("a righteous branch" – צַדִּיק צֶמַח)[40] whose rule over a united monarchy will be so characterised by justice, righteousness and security that he will be called "The Lord our righteousness" (יְהוָה צִדְקֵנוּ).[41] In addition, the two "houses" of geopolitical Israel – Judah and Israel (3:6–13) – will be delivered and secure (23:6).

The final oracle, 23:7–8, which interestingly is missing from the OG, declares that the future redemption will be of such a quality that it will trump God's former act of redemption from Egypt as God's signature redemptive

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peace within the borders of *Eretz Israel* (cf. similarly Andersen and Freedman 2000:470; Hunziker-Rodewald 2001:63).

39   See Holladay 1986:613; Lundbom 2004:165–77; Miller 2001:744.

40   The Targum inserts a reference to the Messiah here, replacing משיח דצדקא for the Hebrew צֶמַח צַדִּיק.

41   Cf. parallel in MT Jer 33:14–17. Note that the Targum and OG depart from the Hebrew. The Targum paraphrases and explains the Hebrew יְהוָה צִדְקֵנוּ by rendering the phrase לנא זכון ק יוי ביומוהי יתעבדן ("righteous deeds shall be done for us before the Lord in his days"). Levey (1974:156, n. 82) reasons that this is because "the kernel of the Messianic idea is found in it".

work. And this final redemption, once for all, consummates a primary element of Israel's eschatological hope: "Then they shall dwell in their own land" (אַרְמָתָם).

In addition to Jeremiah 23:1–8, 50:6 should be considered within the discussion. The verse is a rehearsal of the theme contained in 23:1–2:

> My people have been *lost sheep* (צֹאן אֹבְדוֹת/πρόβατα ἀπολωλότα). Their shepherds have led them astray, turning them away on the mountains. From mountain to hill they have gone. They have forgotten their fold.

Essentially no new information is gained here about the Shepherd-King motif, but rather the verse recasts the argument so that the scattered and exiled condition of YHWH's people is the fault of its shepherds, thereby continuing the *Hirtenkritik*. The perspective is, however, different due to its focus. While the passage reviews the cause of the Exile, its interest is squarely on the guilt of Babylon for its excessive abuse of Israel in its vulnerable state. The section (50:1–51:58) is a judgement speech against Babylon (and Assyria) because, according to Jeremiah, it assumed God's judgement on Israel and Judah meant an open season. The identity of the "lost sheep" here is a group comprising both houses of Israel: "the people of Israel together with the people of Judah" (50:4). Interestingly, while Israel is characterised elsewhere as lost without an accompanying reference to Judah (Jer 23:1–8; 31:1–22; cf. also Micah 5:2 in above discussion), Judah is *never* referred to as lost without a holistic reference to both Israel and Judah.[42] Within the context of 50:4–19, YHWH's flock will be redeemed and he will return them to *their pasture* (נָוֵהוּ). What is more, as a part of this restoration, according to 50:20, the iniquity and sin of Israel and Judah will disappear because YHWH promises to "pardon those whom I leave as a remnant".

Ezekiel 34:23–24; 37:22–25.[43] The Jewish Scripture portrays the prophet Ezekiel as a Judean priest who was one of the Jerusalemites exiled to Babylonia with King Jehoiachin in 597 B.C. (cf. 2 Kings 24:8–17; Ezek 1:1–3). From the biblical perspective his prophetic career took place in the early sixth century and, like his older contemporary Jeremiah, he lived through both the destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple in 586 B.C. and the early stages of the Babylonian Exile.

In the two passages in Ezekiel where the Davidic Shepherd-King motif is employed, the pattern of despair and hope is continued. So much of Ezekiel 34 is similar to Jeremiah 23, that many scholars assume Ezekiel 34's content was shaped to a great extent by the material in Jeremiah,[44] although not without

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42 This observation will prove useful for the argument of ch. 7 below.
43 Note that *Tg*. Jonathan to Ezekiel 34 and 37 is a literal translation of the MT with no definitive Messianic interpretation; cf. Levey 1987:99, n. 12; 105, n. 12.
44 See Greenberg 1997:709; Hunziker-Rodewald 2001:65.

significant development.[45] According to Ezekiel 34, the shepherds of Israel have not only exploited the sheep for their own needs as in Jeremiah 23:1–8, but have also allowed the strong to oppress the weak of the flock (34:17–22).[46] The result, as in Jeremiah, is the same: the shepherds are held responsible for the "scattering of the flock" (34:6). In the face of this desperate situation, YHWH steps in and promises a just response (34:10) in proportion to the failure of the past shepherds: "The coming divine regime is a mirror image of the past human regime in which each standing failure is corrected".[47] YHWH promises that he will rescue his sheep by seeking them out, gathering them out of the countries where they have been scattered and bringing them back to *their own land* (אַדְמָתָם) (Ezek 37:21; cf. Jer 23:8). There YHWH will feed, water and tend them justly.

Then, similar to Jeremiah 23, after the denunciation of the failures of Judah's last kings and an announcement of judgement, YHWH promises to establish over them the "one shepherd, my servant David". Further, the new earthly shepherd will do as YHWH does: "he will feed Israel and be their shepherd" (Ezek 34:23). There is here an implicit amalgamation of functions as the new David will mirror the shepherding function of YHWH. D. Block comments: "Yahweh is the divine patron of the people; David is his representative and deputy".[48] Similarly J. Levenson has observed, "God does not send his messiah to rule; he rules through his messiah".[49]

While we can agree with Levenson's statement here, we cannot go as far as he does in radically reading Ezekiel's prophesy such that a "depoliticization of the messianic office" results.[50] I. Duguid and others have stressed that "there is no diminution of power" in Ezekiel's description of the office of the new David. What is more, they have highlighted the weakness of an "apolitical" reading in that it seems both to downplay the Davidide's place over the people (Ezek 34:23) and the fact that his relationship to the rest of Israel is not simply "*primus inter pares* but shepherd to sheep, a relationship which involves authority as well as service".[51] It cannot be denied that the Messianic office is a "position in the divine regime", but this view of kingship is the essential idea behind the so-called "Law of the King" in Deuteronomy 17:14–20.

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45 Perhaps most significantly is the change from the plural "shepherds" in Jer 23:4 to the singular "shepherd" in Ezek 34:23. Block (1995:173) suggests that the announcement of a single ruler is "a reversal of the division of Israel into Northern and Southern Kingdoms" (Ezek 37:15–25).
46 See also Greenberg 1997:709.
47 Levenson 1976:87.
48 Block 1995:176; cf. also Hunziker-Rodewald 2001:67.
49 Levenson 1976:87.
50 Levenson 1976:57–107; esp. 84–91; cf. similarly Joyce 1998: esp. 332–37.
51 Duguid 1994:48–49; cf. also Block 1995:176.

The stress in Ezekiel on the "limited" role of the future Davidide is conso-
nant with the Deuteronomic vision of the national-political life of Israel.[52]
Levenson, then, is only partially correct when he states: "The messianic office
has been absorbed into the divine office, where it yet retains some identity".[53]
It is not that the political office "has been" *now* absorbed in some new and
unprecedented way; but rather the political office was always *intended to be*
absorbed and subject to YHWH's reign. Yet, according to the biblical record,
this was only ever briefly a reality under the Davidic and Solomonic
administrations[54] Thus, in the future the intended and proper relationship
between YHWH and his earthly monarch, whom he has appointed and
established over the restored Israel, will eternally exist.

The ultimate result of the restoration will be a covenantal relationship, as
Ezekiel 34:24 states in the covenant formula: "I, the Lord, will be their God,
and my servant David shall be prince among them" (cf. likewise 34:30–31).
With this statement, Israel's national covenant is inextricably linked with the
Davidic covenant.[55] Block observes that the prepositional expression בְּתוֹכָם ("in
their midst") "recalls the auxiliary affirmation often viewed as a part of the
covenant formula, 'I will dwell in their midst'".[56] For Ezekiel, "[the new
David] symbolizes the presence of Yahweh in the midst of his people".[57] Thus,
as Block has suggested, the goal of the restoration is nothing short of the rees-
tablishment of the national covenant in its full force and scope (cf. Deut
4:31).[58]

Ezekiel 37:22–25 in many respects mirrors Ezekiel 34:23–24 in its use of
the Shepherd-King motif. It does, however, serve a different purpose than in
the latter passage. Here the focus of the context is the reunification of all the
tribes of Israel into one nation, over which one king will reign. As in Ezekiel
34 the constituent elements of the Shepherd-King motif are present – although
perhaps the negative critique of Israel's past shepherds is more implied than
stated. The fact of the separation and the need for a reunification implies the
divisive politics associated with Israel's history.[59] Further, YHWH will estab-
lish a new political state after gathering the exiles back to the Land. Block ob-
serves that Ezekiel's "present preference for *melek* over *nasi* highlights the
restoration of Israel to full nationhood".[60] The foundation of this new political
state will be unlike that of the past because, in contrast, YHWH promises to

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52 See Duguid 1994:45.
53 Levenson 1976:95, emphasis added.
54 See Cross's (1973:281–85) description of the pro-monarchial stratum of the Deuteronomistic
    history which stressed this aspect of the Davidic ideal.
55 Cf. also Hosea 3:5; Jer 30:9–10.
56 Block 1995:177; cf. e.g. Gen 7:7; Exod 29:45–46; Lev 26:12–13.
57 Block 1995:177.
58 Paraphrase of Block 1995:177.
59 Cf. similarly Levenson 1976:93.
60 Block 1995:178, emphasis added.

"save" and "cleanse" the people so they will not fall again into idolatry (37:23). Interestingly, in contrast to Ezekiel 34 (and Jer), here we see that the Exile was not only the fault of the shepherds, but the sheep also had a part in the sin that led to the Exile. Yet in the entirely new existence (*Neuordnung*),[61] resulting from the purification YHWH will bring about, they will never again "defile themselves" and they will then be characterised by the statement: "they shall be my people, and I will be their God" (37:23).

YHWH will install his "servant David" over this new order that he has created; he will be the "*one shepherd* for all of them" (37:24).[62] Moreover, the outcome of YHWH's activity will be a never-ending protection within the borders of the Promised Land:

> They shall dwell in the land that I gave to my servant Jacob, where your fathers lived. They and their children and their children's children shall dwell there forever, and David my servant shall be their prince forever.

It is noteworthy that the Davidic Shepherd-King, as in the previous prophetic passages we have considered, "plays no part in the restoration of the nation".[63] He is placed over the new order once it has been established. His responsibilities, according to Ezekiel, are to stabilise and maintain the conditions of peace and security that YHWH has established: "der in Ez 34,23 und 37,24 angekündigte eine Hirt David ist zur Überwachung und Aufrechterhaltung einer Ordnung beauftragt".[64] His kingship, therefore, is an extension of YHWH's kingship and is in no way in conflict with it.[65]

Zechariah 9–14. The Bible presents Zechariah as a unified text composed by Zechariah somewhere in the early reign of Darius I (522–486 B.C.). Zechariah 9–14 invokes a Shepherd-King motif with the same elements we have seen in the previous prophetic expectations: the leadership of Israel, the restoration of the Davidic monarchy and the kingdom of Israel, and shepherding imagery. The image of the Shepherd-King is so central to the message of this section of Zechariah C. F. Evans has remarked:

> It would hardly be sufficient to say that the prophecy contains references to the shepherd of Israel and the flock of Israel; its account of the judgement and redemption is to a considerable extent given in terms of the shepherd and the flock.[66]

The Davidic element appears first in 9:9–10. After the prophecy depicts YHWH's deliverance of Israel's territory from its enemies (9:1–8), it then exhorts "Fair Zion" to rejoice because her king is returning to Jerusalem. This king is likely the Davidide who was mentioned earlier in the prophecy as

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61   See Block 1995:180; Hunziker-Rodewald 2001:68.
62   See Hunziker-Rodewald 2001:68.
63   Block 1995:183.
64   Hunziker-Rodewald 2001:68.
65   See similarly Hunziker-Rodewald 2001:68.
66   Evans 1954:8.

God's "servant, the Branch" (3:8; 6:12).[67] The restoration of the unified king-dom under the restored Davidic leadership will bring "peace to the nations"[68] and will extend "from sea to sea" (9:10). While it is true that the king is not explicitly referred to with the designation "shepherd" in this context, the peo-ple of Israel are designated with the familiar moniker "flock" in Zechariah 9:16: "On that day the Lord their God will save them for they are *the flock of his people*" (כְּצֹאן עַמּוֹ).[69]

A critique of Israel's leadership is taken up in chapters 10 and 11. It would be inaccurate to understand these chapters as one unified discussion, since they display varying interests and themes. Nevertheless, both of these chapters fo-cus on the problem of leadership and utilize the familiar shepherd imagery to accomplish their ends. Zechariah 10:2 initiates the critique with the statement that the flock is "scattered" for the lack of a shepherd. The prophecy further states that YHWH's anger is aroused against the shepherds because of their lack of care for the flock (10:3), presumably the cause of the scattering. YHWH, however, will rescue his people (both houses of Israel) and punish the shepherds. The rescue will involve a pardon of their sin (10:6), a regathering of the nation from where they had been scattered (10:8–10) and restoration of their national sovereignty and might (10:12). In contrast, the shepherds will be humiliated and punished for their treatment of his flock (11:1–3).

Zechariah 11:4–17, the so-called shepherd-allegory, continues the critique of Israel's political leaders. This passage is enigmatic and variously interpreted (e.g. the two sign-acts can be interpreted in at least two ways: [1] as the posi-tive act of the "good shepherd" and the negative act of the "bad shepherd"[70] or [2] as both negative depictions of a "bad shepherd"[71]). Yet, no matter how one reads it there is no question that the unit is an utterance of judgement upon Israel's shepherds.[72] Here the prophet is commanded to perform "sign-acts",[73] thereby taking the role of a foolish and worthless shepherd and shepherding

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67 See likewise Meyers and Meyers 1993:123–24; Ollenburger 1996:807.
68 The LXX reverses the directional preposition in 9:10d, thereby creating a converse transla-tion. Rather than rendering the Hebrew preposition לְ in the phrase לַגּוֹיִם with the expected εἰς, the Greek translator used ἐξ "from": ἐξ ἐθνῶν. In the MT the nations *receive* the announce-ment of peace through YHWH's action of bringing war to an end and his installation of Jeru-salem's king. In the LXX, however, the announcement moves in the opposite direction. It is the nations who bring peace to Israel. A reasonable solution for the change in the LXX is not readily accessible. Whatever the reason, the translation of 9:10d in the OG asserts that after the king arrives and removes the enemy nations from Palestine "plenty and peace" will be brought to Israel from the nations.
69 See Meyers and Meyers 1993:157; Ollenburger 1996:811. The BHS suggests that כְּצֹאן יִרְעֶם is the probable reading of 9:16; see JPS's Tanakh translation. Furthermore, when the merging of the roles of YHWH and the king in this context is taken into account, 9:16 can, by implica-tion, be applied to YHWH's human agent – the king; for explanation see Merrill 1994:252.
70 Boda 2003:281–84; Merrill 1994.
71 Ollenburger 1996:820; Redditt 1995:124.
72 Evans 1954:6; Ollenburger 1996:820.
73 Boda 2003:280.

the flock "meant for slaughter" (11:4). The verses of this passage are essen-
tially the narrative description of the cause of the shepherdless condition al-
ready described in 10:2.[74] The verses depict Zechariah's actions as both para-
digmatic and portentous.[75] YHWH will raise up a "worthless" shepherd
(11:16) who will abandon the flock in the way Zechariah demonstrated (11:9).

Interestingly, the prediction of the appearance of a future shepherd here is
both continuous and discontinuous with the other prophets. Instead of being a
cause for future redemption as in Ezekiel and Jeremiah, this shepherd will be a
cause of severe turmoil for the nation. Does this reversal of the expectation of
a future king equate to a negative view of the Davidic monarchy? Perhaps, but
too negative a view of the Davidic monarchy by the author is difficult to main-
tain in view of Zechariah 12:6–8 and the surrounding context. Here YHWH
promises to destroy all the nations that fight against Israel as well as save Jeru-
salem and exult the house of David.[76]

The elements of the motif culminate in Zechariah 13:7.[77] Although there is
a difference of opinion concerning the identity of the shepherd spoken of here,
it is clearly a political figure of some sort.[78] According to the prophecy the
shepherd will be slain and the flock will be scattered. The judgement that falls
on the shepherd who is characterised as YHWH's "friend" will ultimately re-
sult in the refinement and restoration of a remnant of the people (13:7–9).
Through this remnant and from Jerusalem, YHWH will reign over the earth as
king (14:9, 16).[79]

Summation. The prophetic passages studied here illustrate that King
David's characterisation as a Shepherd-King in the Former Prophets became a
significant motif in the formulation of the prophetic expectations for national
redemption. The motif seems to function polemically in the prophets giving
voice to both despair and hope. On the one hand, a central component of the
motif is the expression of anguish over the injustice of the failed royal leader-
ship as well as a robust critique and a pronouncement of judgement on the
leadership. On the other hand, the motif is a vehicle of hope for the future res-
toration of the nation. The expectation of restoration is a united political-

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74   See similarly McComiskey 1988:1188; Ollenburger 1996:820.
75   Ollenburger 1996:820.
76   See ch. 3 of this thesis for my argument that Matthew's made use of Zech 12:4–8 in Matt 2:6.
77   For a discussion of the use of Zech 13:7 in CD-B 19:7–9 see ch. 5 below.
78   The "shepherd" is a *crux interpretum*, according to Meyers and Meyers, and has been inter-
      preted in various ways. What is uncontested is the fact that the shepherd in this context is a
      political ruler of some type, although the image of the shepherd in Zechariah is not necessar-
      ily uniform (cf. Petersen 1995:130). Sweeney (1989:695) has argued that "shepherd" refers to
      the Persian monarch Cyrus who in Isaiah YHWH referred as "my shepherd" (Isa 44:28).
      Meyers and Meyers (1993:386) take the term to be inclusive and believes it refers to the de-
      mise of the Davidic line. Merrill (1994:337) understands the shepherds to be the royal shep-
      herd-kings of Israel
79   For a more detailed discussion of Zech 13:7 see ch. 5 of this thesis.

national Israel; and it involves the gathering of the people back to the Land, the reconstitution of the twelve tribes and the establishment of a new Davidic monarchy.

The portrait of the future Shepherd-King in the prophets is concordant with the political, national ruler depiction set out by the biblical historians. He is envisaged as YHWH's viceroy, though he seems not to have a role in bringing about the restoration – this is most evidently a direct act of YHWH. After the restoration the Davidide is installed to maintain the new order of righteousness and peace through his YHWH sanctioned and supported government. For this role, the new Shepherd-King is uniquely gifted with the power of YHWH (Micah 5:3) and rightly related to him, being called by YHWH "my servant" (cf. Ezek 34:23). In addition, the Messianic Shepherd-King's flock is comprised of both Israel and Judah – those who will be united into a restored kingdom of both houses of Israel.

2.2.3 The Davidic Shepherd-King Motif in the Psalms

The Psalms are relevant to our study for several reasons, not least because until the modern period, and especially so in ancient Judaism, most of the Psalms were thought to have been composed and performed by King David.[80] While there are numerous references to YHWH as shepherd of Israel,[81] there are only two references to David as a shepherd. It would perhaps be useful given the luxury of more time and space to develop the line of research related to David's view of YHWH as his and Israel's shepherd. The royal Psalms, as J. H. Eaton has pointed out, explicitly make clear that in fact YHWH is Israel's true Shepherd-King, but the Davidide is his earthly instrument.[82] Yet our interest in this chapter is more narrowly on the Scripture's view of David as Israel's Shepherd-King. Within the Psalms, two passages present themselves for consideration: Psalm 2:9 and 78:70–72.

Psalm 2:9. Scholars consider this Psalm to be among the "Royal Psalms" in the Psalter. Questions related to the origin and use of the Psalm, however, remain obscure and for our purposes are not critical to the present investiga-

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80 See Eaton 1976:21; Pomykala 2004:38–40. The evidence shows that this view extended into the Second Temple period: see Sir 47:8–10; *Ant*. 7:305–06; the NT (cf. Mark 12:36; Acts 1:16; 2:34; 4:25; Rom 4:6; 11:9; Heb 4:7); also the Talmud attributes the Psalms to David (cf. *b. Ber*. 9b).

81 Psa 23; 28:9; 74:1; 77:20; 78:52–55; 79:13; 80:1; 95:7.

82 Eaton 1976:135–36; see also Schaefer (2001:10) who notes, "Zion's head of state was thereby understood to be a function and instrument of God. To obey the human sovereign was to obey God, and to rebel against human authority meant insurrection against God (cf. Psa 2:2–3).

tion.[83] If scholars are correct, the speaker throughout the Psalm is to be under-stood as a Davidic King, though referring to himself at times in the third as well as first person.[84] The psalm pictures a general revolt of the nations, God's vassals,[85] against "the Lord and his anointed" (2:2). Their intention is to free themselves from the government of the kingdom of YHWH and his Davidide. Interestingly this rule is pictured as a "yoke" (2:3). In response to the desire for rebellion against YHWH, the psalmist turns his attention to YHWH's tran-scendent throne room where he is pictured mocking the intentions of the na-tions. The Davidic King in the psalm speaks of God's decree that he has been declared God's son and is entitled and equipped to rule the nations from Zion (2:7–9). Psalm 2:10–12 concludes the warning with a call to the nations to show proper deference and submission to YHWH and his king, as well as a beatitude spoken upon those that do so.

A reference to the Davidic Shepherd-King appears in the OG and the Tar-gum of Psalm 2:9; consider the following textual comparison in the table be-low. The extant versions of the verse reveal a significant difference in the way the verse was read in the first century. While the Targum is quite different from the Old Greek and the MT, the latter two only depart on the rendering of the phrase תְּרֹעֵם/ποιμανεῖς αὐτούς. There seem to be good reasons for the difference in translation between the two versions, and good arguments are offered on both sides for which of the two better represents the original read-ing.[86] Nevertheless, the important point for this argument is the fact that the verse was read by some first-century Jews as a Shepherd-King text.

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83 Scholars have suggested that the most likely occasion for this psalm is the annual remem-brance of renewal of the Davidic Kings enthronement; see Eaton 1976:112–13; Schaefer 2001:8.

84 E.g. Eaton 1976:111.

85 Schaefer (2001:10) importantly points out that although the use of the "rulers of the earth" for the petty princes who were temporarily subjugated by Israel in real history is an exaggeration, the claim "is understood as God's design for the Davidic dynasty ... [and] is the mainstay of the hope of the Hebrew scriptures for the consummation of all things at the end of time".

86 The textual issue between the LXX and the MT comes down to the pointing of the conso-nants תרעם. The pointing of the MT indicates the use of the Aramaic root רעע, while the LXX assumes a verbal form derived from רעה. For a discussion in support of the LXX see Briggs and Briggs 1969:23; Emerton 1978:502; Otto 2004:135–36; Wilhelmi 1976 and for the MT see Craigie 1983:64; Dahood 1966:13; Kraus 1993:124.

OG[87] Psa 2:9	MT Psa 2:9	*Targum Psalms* 2:9[88]
<u>ποιμανεῖς</u> αὐτοὺς ἐν ῥάβδῳ σιδηρᾷ ὡς σκεῦος κεραμέως συντρίψεις αὐτούς.	תְּרֹעֵם בְּשֵׁבֶט בַּרְזֶל כִּכְלִי יוֹצֵר תְּנַפְּצֵם	<u>תתבינון היך בחוטרא</u> דפרזלא היך <u>מאן</u> <u>דפחר</u> <u>תתרעינון</u>
Thou shalt <u>shepherd</u>[89] them with a rod of iron; thou shalt dash them in pieces as a potter's vessel.	You shall break them with a rod of iron and dash them in pieces like a potter's vessel.	<u>You shall teach</u> them <u>as with the staff</u> of iron, like a vessel of a potter <u>you shall shepherd</u> them.[90]

Table 1. Textual Comparison: Psalm 2:9

According to the Greek, the Davidic King will "shepherd" the nations with a rod of iron. Curiously, although the Targum contains a unique reading it has two terms that suggest it too imagined a Davidic Shepherd-King: the noun חוטרא meaning "staff" and the verb רעי meaning "to pasture" or "to lead".[91] On this reading Psalm 2, as in the prophetic literature, depicts the Davidic Shepherd-King as a royal military figure who exercises YHWH's rule on the earth. However, here in Psalm 2 that rule is envisaged to extend beyond the borders of the Promised Land to encompass the territories of the nations to the "ends of the earth" (אַפְסֵי־אָרֶץ), (Psa 2:8).[92]

Psalm 78:70–72. It has been oft noted that Psalm 78 is difficult to categorise.[93] It is the second-longest psalm in the Psalter behind Psalm 119. This psalm seems best described as a "didactic historical psalm" because it uses a

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87 "OG" stands for "Old Greek" and designates the oldest recoverable form of the Greek text of the particular book in question (cf. Mclay 2003:6–7). The text used in this thesis is the Göttingen edition. Strictly speaking the designation "LXX" originally referred to the Greek translation of the Pentateuch, but has been come to be used more broadly to refer to the whole of the Greek Jewish Scriptures. For stylistic purposes, then, I sometimes use the terms OG and LXX interchangeably.

88 The text here is taken from Lagarde 1873. See the recent useful essay by Evans (2004: esp. 44) on the Aramaic Psalter and the New Testament. He distinguishes between the terms "Aramaic Psalter" and "*Targum Psalms*". The former represents the Aramaic tradition of the Psalms as a whole, from oral to written, in all of its diversity of expression and development, while the latter refers to a more narrow expression of the Aramaic Psalter. He states, "Jesus and some NT writers were familiar with the Aramaic Psalter, out of which eventually *Targum Psalms* would grow". With respect to dating then, Evans (2004:75) asserts, "The evidence suggests that there are ancient traditions in *Targum Psalms* ... some of the older material seems to reach back to the first century and in some cases earlier ... the extant *Targum Psalms* does indeed contain early Palestinian traditions".

89 I depart here from Benton's translation which renders ποιμανεῖς with the interpretive gloss "to rule".

90 Stec (2004:30) translates the verse: "You will break them as with a rod of iron, (and) shatter them like a potter's vessel".

91 See Sokoloff 2002 for definitions of terms.

92 See also Rev 2:27; 12:5; 19:15 for a reading similar to the Septuagint.

93 See similarly Berlin and Brettler 2004:1367; Kraus 1993:122.

narrative of the past to teach about the present.[94] In this way, its purpose is to encourage the listeners ("my people") to be obedient in contrast to previous generations (78:6–7). The psalm concludes in 78:65–72 with a rejection of the Northern Kingdom ("clan of Joseph" and "tribe of Ephraim") – although perhaps more narrowly a rejection of the Northern Kingdom as the place of YHWH's sanctuary and throne.[95] Also, there is an affirmation of Davidic kingship and sovereign's seat of power exclusively centred in Zion – YHWH's chosen city.

In Psalm 78:70–72 the motif of Shepherd-King continues to undergo development, while still remaining within the sphere of politics. Absent from this context are the royal military connotations of the image of David as a Shepherd-King, which have factored so significantly in the prophetic material and Psalm 2:9. Here the military quality of the theme is replaced by what Hunziker-Rodewald has called a theological-ethical quality (*theologisch-ethische Qualität*).[96] In his praise of Davidic kingship, the psalmist, most likely writing sometime after the fall of the Northern Kingdom in 722 B.C., states:

70a   *He chose* (וַיִּבְחַר) David his servant
70b   *and took* him (וַיִּקָּחֵהוּ) from the sheepfolds;
71a   from following the nursing ewes *he brought* him (הֱבִיא)
71b   *to shepherd* (לִרְעוֹת) Jacob his people, Israel his inheritance.
72a   With upright heart *he shepherded* them (וַיִּרְעֵם)
72b   and *guided them* (יַנְחֵם) with his skillful hand.

The NRSV translation above obscures the relationship between the three *waw*-consecutives and the perfect and simple imperfect. The textual layout above is designed to show the logical relationships between the propositions. This short unit exhibits a structure similar to a narrative unit in Hebrew with the *waw*-consecutive as its foundation. The perfect in 78:71 suggests that the comment is merely additional information that does not move the narrative forward. Psalm 78:71 makes two contributions. First, it indicates the purpose for YHWH's actions in 78:70. Second, with the reference to David's care of "nursing ewes" the role of shepherd is depicted as one of pasturing vulnerable sheep. While not subverting the military role, this picture is much more remi-

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94   Cf. Kraus 1993:122–23; Weiser 1962:538. Recently Clifford (1981:137, 141) has called this interpretation of the psalm into question arguing instead that it is a "liturgical celebration" which celebrates "God's merciful choice of Zion and David as the continuation today of the ancient shrine celebrating the exodus and conquest tradition". For Clifford, the psalm is a "liturgical expression of the ideal of a united Israel worshipping at a single shrine". Clifford's analysis while highlighting the intention of the psalm, still acknowledges that the narratives woven by the psalmist leave the reader ("all Israel") with a choice. Thus, from this perspective the psalm calls the worshipper to obey in contrast to their ancestors.

95   See Tate (1990:295) who disputes that the statement is a rejection of the Northern tribes. He argues, "… the Northern tribes are not rejected at all. The issue is the location of Yahweh's chosen sanctuary and his establishment of the Davidic Kingship".

96   Hunziker-Rodewald 2001:49.

niscent of the "Good Shepherd" conception and does not convey a military sense.[97] In addition, 78:72b with its simple imperfect similarly reveals its subordinate nature. In this case the line expresses a complementary parallelism with 78:72a, that is, it complements the first line by adding information: David led Israel not only with integrity of heart, but also with his skilful hand.

From these textual observations the intent of the unit is clear: the psalmist, alluding to 1 Samuel 16, 2 Samuel 5:2; 7:8, narrates that YHWH chose David and placed him in the position of king over all of Israel. David's response to these actions was a faithful and competent rule. David, as YHWH's servant, is Israel's statesman *par excellence*.

2.2.4 Conclusion

The preceding study of the Davidic Shepherd-King motif in the Jewish Scriptures has yielded at least three results. First, it has established the inextricable link between the Davidide and the Shepherd-King imagery. The historical narratives depict David as a shepherd and his vocation is summed up by YHWH's election and action of taking him from shepherding a flock to ruling over Israel. In the progress of the narrative a transformation takes place whereby David's characterisation as a shepherd moves from inexperienced youth to warrior-king. Ultimately the Shepherd-King motif comes to signify David as Israel's ruler *par excellence*. While the Scripture teaches unequivocally that YHWH is Israel's shepherd, it is equally explicit about the abiding role of the Davidic Shepherd-King over YHWH's earthly realm.

Secondly, and related to the first point, the motif inhabits the political arena. The imagery is carried into the prophetic literature where it becomes an important paradigm for Israel's future monarch after the restoration. According to the prophets, the future Davidide is YHWH's answer to Israel's failed leadership. Thus, the motif contains the affective dichotomy of both despair and hope. In the Psalms, where the motif is invoked, similar political-national connotations are present, although at least in Psalm 78 the hard military emphasis is replaced by a softer, nurturing sense, which emphasizes the integrity and skill of David the Shepherd-King.

Finally, there is a political-national nature to the idea of the eschatological Shepherd-King's flock. While not always explicitly stated, it is evident that the sheep of the Davidic Shepherd in the *eschaton* will be comprised of members of both the Northern and Southern Kingdoms who are a unified political-national entity residing in a restored Promised Land. In the prophet's present, the flock is considered "scattered" or "lost" and these designations can apply

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97   See likewise Hunziker-Rodewald 2001:49.

to citizens of both kingdoms (although the Northern Kingdom alone is singled out and characterised as lost). It appears that the condition of lostness or scatteredness is defined as being without YHWH-sanctioned and obedient leadership.

2.3 The Messianic Shepherd-King Motif
in the Dead Sea Scrolls

With an understanding of the biblical conception of the Messianic Shepherd-King motif in hand, the investigation now turns to its reuse in the Messianic expectations of post-biblical writers, namely the authors of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Psalms of Solomon.

The extant scrolls from Qumran contain only a couple references to the Davidic Shepherd-King motif.[98] Admittedly, these fragmentary and controversial references are hardly enough to establish a case by themselves. Yet, I hope to show that the reuse of the Davidic Shepherd-King motif in the Scrolls suggests no mere historical reminiscence, but rather that the motif gives voice to expectations of national restoration.

2.3.1 11Q5 (11Q*Psa* [Psa 151A]) 28:3–4; 10–12

A reference to David as a Shepherd-King presents itself in the expanded Hebrew version of Psalm 151. Prior to the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, Psalm 151 was known in Greek, Syriac, and Latin. It was known in Ethiopic, Coptic and Armenian as well, but scholars agree that the latter translations were dependent on the Greek.[99]

Amongst the scrolls found in Cave 11 a Hebrew text of Psalm 151 was discovered. J. A. Sanders published the Psalms Scroll with translation and notes in 1965 and he asserted then that not only was the Hebrew psalm the more original of the two text-forms, but it also presented two distinct poems: Psalm 151A and B. According to Sanders, the Greek translation of the psalm represents a dramatic transformation of the Hebrew resulting in a shorter and amalgamated version of the two poems.[100] Although recently some have rightly questioned his position, it matters little for our purpose whether the

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98   Contra Chae 2004:185–226; the use of Zech 13:7 in CD-B 19:7–9 is treated in ch. 5 below. The placement of the discussion later seemed appropriate because, within the context of CD-B, the reference is not used to support a Davidic Messianic expectation.
99   See Fernández-Marcos 2001:205; Sanders 1965:54, 1967:94.
100 Sanders 1967:93–94; see likewise Wacholder 1988:57.

text-form of the Hebrew poem from Qumran in fact antedates the Greek.[101] What is relevant, however, is the fact that in the first century this more expanded text-form of the poem was in circulation.[102] In addition, not only is the Qumran text the more expanded text-form, but also the superscription and its placement in the Psalm Scroll reveals "that it held great importance in Qumranian beliefs concerning David".[103]

Psalm 151A, the first of the two poems according to Sanders's textual reconstruction, presents an autobiographical midrash on 1 Samuel 16:1–13. This weaves allusions to 2 Samuel 7:8 along with Psalms 78:70–72 and 89:21 in its elaboration on the simple account of how David the shepherd boy was made ruler of Israel.[104] The Hebrew psalm is structured in a contrasting parallelism of thought whereby God's election and installation of the insignificant shepherd-boy David as king over his people is emphasized.

The first (lines 3–4) and last (lines 10–12) lines of the psalm teach that whereas Jesse made David the shepherd (רועה) and ruler (מושל) over his flock, God sent Samuel to anoint (משח) and make David prince (נגיד) and ruler (מול) of his people. Although not entirely absent in the shorter Greek form, Sanders is right to observe that the parallelism is at best "truncated" and the emphasis on David as a Shepherd-King is obscured by its interest in the battle with Goliath.[105]

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101 Fernández-Marcos 2001:210; Haran 1988:176; Smith 1997:186; Wacholder 1988:65.
102 Fernández-Marcos (2001:216) suggests that both the Hebrew and the Greek were in circulation from the middle of the first-century B.C.; likewise Wacholder 1988:61.
103 See Sanders 1965:58; the superscription for the Qumran psalm (הללויה לדויד בן ישי) is distinct from the Greek (οὗτος ὁ ψαλμὸς ἰδιόγραφος εἰς Δαυιδ καὶ ἔξωθεν τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ ὅτε ἐμονομάχησεν τῷ Γολιαδ). Sanders highlights three major points about the superscriptions: (1) the term ἰδιόγραφος may suggest a doubt about authorship (NB: Wacholder [1988:58–59] questions Sanders's assumption that these superscriptions are independent and suggests that the Qumran title might be in response to the Greek's Heb. *Vorlage*); (2) the note that the psalm is supernumerary (ἔξωθεν τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ) is absent from Qumran's; and (3) the signal that the psalm concerns the Goliath episode is lacking in the Hebrew.
104 Paraphrase of Sanders 1967:95; cf. similarly Fernández-Marcos 2001:213; Talmon 1989:270.
105 Sanders 1967:95.

LXX Psalm 151:1b, 4	11Q5 28:3b–4, 10b–12
μικρὸς ἤμην ἐν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς μου καὶ νεώτερος ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ τοῦ πατρός μου ἐποίμαινον τὰ πρόβατα τοῦ πατρός μου	קטן הייתי מן אהי וצעיר מבני אבי וישימני רועה לצונו ומושל בגדיותיו
καὶ ἦρέν με ἐκ τῶν προβάτων τοῦ πατρός μου καὶ ἔχρισέν με ἐν τῷ ἐλαίῳ τῆς χρίσεως αὐτοῦ	וישלח ויקחני מאחר הצואן וימשחני בשמן הקודש וישימני נגיד לעמו ומושל בבני בריתו
I was small among my brethren, and youngest in my father's house: I tended my father's sheep.	I was smaller than my brothers and the youngest of my father's sons; he made me shepherd of his flock and ruler over his kid goats.
And [he] took me from my father's sheep, and he anointed me with the oil of his anointing.	And he sent to fetch me from behind the flock and anointed me with holy oil, and made me leader of his people and ruler over the sons of his covenant.

Table 2. Textual Comparison: Psalm 151

The composer of the Hebrew Psalm 151 presents the young David as a national hero – an ideal or model figure. Thus, the stress on the Davidic Shepherd-King in the poem is not simply a historical reminiscence, but rather the re-actualization of the historical past for the present encouragement of the readers. N. Fernández-Marcos has asserted that the reworking of 1 Samuel 16–17 in the Greek poem has a contemporary purpose. He contends that the author of the psalm reused the traditions about David in the service of his contemporary Messianic expectations.[106] While the content of the psalm is drawn from David's early history, the formation of the it is based on the present needs and hopes of the author. And what is true of the Greek poem is true for the Hebrew as well. Indeed, the Messianic expectations of the Second Temple period provided the impetus and structure for the poem. As Fernández-Marcos states, "this description of the young David focuses on the messianic expectations of those times".[107]

Read together, Psalm 151A and B relate to the already noted transformation of David from shepherd-boy to warrior-king. It is likely that this message carried immediate relevance to the sectarians living in an occupied land awaiting YHWH's end-time deliverance at the appearance of the eschatological

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106 Fernández-Marcos 2001:215–16.
107 Fernández–Marcos 2001:215.

David.[108] This opinion is confirmed by another allusion in the Scrolls to David's victory over Goliath. The War Scroll (1QM 11:1–2) states: "Goliath, the Gitte, a mighty man of valor, you delivered into the hand of David, your servant, because he trusted in your great name and not in the sword or spear. For the battle is yours".

In sum, I have asserted that the hope for a future Davidic hero, who will be YHWH's ruler and shepherd of Israel in a way similar to the first David, underlies the use of the Shepherd-King motif in the context of Hebrew Psalm 151. This assertion is based on two points: (1) the structuring of the psalm emphasizing David's unique role as YHWH's Shepherd-King, and (2) the historical setting of the composition of the psalm in the late first-century B.C. and its use by the Qumran sectarians. It is true that there is neither a hint of a critique of the present leadership of Israel nor an explicit statement of Messianic expectation. Nonetheless, seen in the light of its historical setting, the psalmist uses the Shepherd-King motif to give voice to his anticipation of future restoration.

2.3.2 4Q504 (4Q*DibHama*) Frgs. 1–2, 4:6–8

What appears to be the first attested use of the title "shepherd-prince" (רעי נגיד) emerges in a text of the Scrolls called by the editor, M. Baillet, "Words of the Luminaries" (דברי המרות). The work was discovered in Cave 4 in 1952 and the *editio princeps* was published in DJD in 1982.[109] Surviving in three manuscripts totalling 34 fragments, the best preserved is 4Q504. The text consists of a series of prayers for use on various days of the week and is widely considered to be pre-Qumran and composed in the late second-century B.C. The title appears in line 7 of column four in the immediate context of a historical reflection on the Davidic dynasty:

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108 See similarly Wacholder 1988:60, 66.
109 Baillet 1982.

6 יאודה ובריתכה הקימותה לדויד להיות
7 כרעי¹¹⁰ נגיד על עמכה וישב על כסא ישראל לפניך
8 כול הימים
6   Judah. And [you] established your covenant with David so that he would be
7   like a shepherd-prince¹¹¹ over your people, and would sit in front of you on the throne of Israel
8   for ever

Table 3. 4Q504 Frgs. 1–2, 4:6–8

This text was first identified incorrectly by some as evidence of an expectation of a future Davidic Messiah,[112] but, in the most extensive commentary on the passage to date, K. Pomykala rightly showed from the context that this was in fact not an explicit reference to a Davidic Messiah as in other places in the Scrolls (e.g. 4Q252, 4Q174, 4Q161, 4Q285).[113] Instead, according to Pomy-kala, the reference to the Davidic dynasty was merely a historical rumination on God's gracious and faithful dealing with David in a section of a *tahanun*, or prayer of supplication.[114] He asserts:

> Thus, the establishment of the covenant with David and David's sitting on the throne are recited as evidence of God's gracious acts toward Israel in the past … *it is not a statement of a continuing expectation for a davidic messianic figure.* To assume that these lines, which simply recount the establishment of a covenant with David, indicate Jewish messianic hope is *gratuitous.*[115]

However, it is my contention that Pomykala has not only overstated the case, but he has also skewed a proper understanding of the text by focusing too nar-rowly on the "retrospective" aspect of the reference.[116] I will argue that, far

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110 Baillet's (1982:143) transcription of the text, which is used here, contains three doubtful letters in this word ב, ר and י based on an examination of the photograph of the scroll. Pomy-kala (1995:174) suggests the possibility that the word could actually be זרעו ("his seed"), but in the end takes Baillet's reconstruction to be more likely.

111 The translation is taken from García Martínez (1997:1015) with one alteration. The phrase כרעי נגיד I take to be a title, "shepherd prince", rather than "a shepherd, a prince", although the sense of the two is not dissimilar; see likewise Pomykala 2004:37.

112 See Dimant 1984:539, n. 265.

113 Pomykala 1995:172–80.

114 Scholars including Pomykala (1995:176–78) have noted the structural and terminological similarities between this text and that of Nehemiah 9:6–37 (cf. also Daniel 9:13–19 and Ba-ruch 2:6–3:8) as well as rabbinic sources and have gone so far as to assume it to be an exam-ple of Jewish *tahanunim*, or prayers of supplication. Significant for this identification is the basic pattern observable in Nehemiah and elsewhere of three elements: (1) supplication for God's help; (2) remembrance of God's saving deeds in the past; and (3) repentance and prayer for forgiveness.

115 Pomykala 1995:178, emphasis added.

116 Pomykala (1995:174–76, 178–79) attempts to show that in lines 6–8 David alone is in view and not the dynasty. His discussion is learned and lucid, but in the end fails to convince. To my mind his argument is undercut not only by the allusions to Solomon's reign in 4:8–12,

from being absent and peripheral, the future restored Davidic Kingdom lies at the heart of this prayer. What is more, it is reasonable to assume that in the hands and hearts of the Community this prayer would have been used Messianically, given the widely attested interest in a future Davidic Messiah elsewhere in the Scrolls.[117] This, of course, notwithstanding the fact that it was probably not composed for Messianic purposes as Pomykala contends.

The assertion is based on a contextual reading of 4Q504 frgs. 1–2, 4:6–8 that considers the argument of the author's composition as a whole. Admittedly, not much more than a provisional summary of the argument can be offered in view of the lacuna in the text. Yet, enough of the extant text remains to have a fairly good idea of the composition's flow of argument.

The document, which according to Baillet's reconstruction comprises seven columns on two fragments,[118] can be broken into two primary units each emphasizing aspects of God's gracious acts of election and the obstinate response of his people. Further, with each unit there is identification by the author with historic Israel and a petition. The first section (2:1–3:21) comprises a prayerful reflection on God's gracious election of Israel and its early history of rebellion. The author links his own day and his own generation (note the first person plurals throughout) with that of ancient Israel and pleads for God's mercy: "May, then, your anger and rage for all [their] si[n] turn away from your people Israel" (2:11).

The second and longer section (4:1–6:17), the one in which our text appears, likewise consists of a prayerful reflection on God's election. This time, however, it is God's gracious election of Jerusalem and the Davidic dynasty that is in view. In addition, similar to the first section, Israel's subsequent rebellion and exile are considered in relationship to his election. And, as before, the author identifies with the Israel of old by acknowledging that Israel remains even to his own day under divine chastisement. Yet, he defends Israel's abiding relationship with God on the very grounds of the suffering they are currently undergoing. For the author, the present oppression is a sign of God's abiding covenant relationship. He affirms that the suffering is central to God's plan and proof positive that God is not finished with his people. As the author confesses, "For you, who sent our enemies against us, have strengthened our heart so that we can recount your mighty works to everlasting generations" (6:8b–9). What is more, in view of the eternal election of Israel, Jerusalem (and the Land – cf. 5:2), and David's house, the author petitions God for national deliverance: "Look at [our] d[istress] our labour and our affliction, and

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which he readily admits and appeals to, but also by the argument of the composition which has in view both past and future (see below). Thus, a combination of options #1 and #2 of the three he outlines seems most likely.

117 See e.g. CD VII:15–17 (4Q269 frg. 5); 4Q161; 4Q174 frg. 3:10–13; 4Q252 1, 5:1–6; 4Q285 frg. 5:2–6 with Evans 2000; Flint 2000.

118 See the Plates 50 and 51 in Baillet 1982.

free your people Isra[el from all] the countries, both near and far, to where
[you have exiled them], (6:11b–13).

From this contextual sketch I argue that the prayer's ultimate interest is in
the restoration of national Israel. While it is true, as Pomykala asserts, that
when the text speaks of the restoration of Israel "there is no mention of a re-
stored Davidic covenant or calls for God to bring forth a new seed of
David",[119] this silence need not imply absence or disinterest. In fact, the con-
tinuance of the gracious acts of election, in spite of Israel's obduracy, as well
as the plea for national deliverance, implies a Davidic presence. In settings
where the vision of a restored national Israel is preeminent, a restored Davidic
monarchy is taken for granted.[120] Accordingly, the use of the Davidic Shep-
herd-King has both past and future implications.

Still, Pomykala is right to assert that the lines of the prayer, at least when it
was originally penned, do not explicitly make reference to the future Davidic
Messiah. Furthermore, it seems agreeable to assume with others that 4Q504 is
a pre-Qumran text and likely enjoyed widespread use among first-century
Jews.[121] Yet, as a means of ascertaining its Messianic import for Qumran, the
question of original intention seems inappropriate and wrongheaded; what
matters in this case is how it was taken up and used. And, if one allows for the
wider evidence of the Scrolls to form a context for interpreting the parts, a
move Pomykala's methodologically excludes,[122] it seems likely that this prayer
would have had Messianic importance to the Qumran Community.

2.3.3 Conclusion

The nature of the evidence makes the relevance of the conclusion understanda-
bly contestable. Indeed it would have been much more interesting for our study
had there been an explicit occurrence of the Davidic Shepherd-King motif that
drew from the prophetic material we considered above. If this were the case,
an author would have bemoaned the dreadful condition of Israel's present
leadership – obviously a view they held, and would have reused the prophetic
tradition voicing an expectation of a future Davidic Shepherd-King. Instead,
what we found were two instances of a historical reminiscence of YHWH's
choice of David to be Shepherd-King over his people.

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119 Pomykala 1995:178.
120 See likewise Schiffman 1994:318.
121 See Pomykala 1995:179.
122 Cf. Pomykala 1995:173. Consider Collins's (1994:213) critique of recent approaches that
     eschew systematic treatments of the question of Messianism in the Scrolls and instead take
     the individual texts in isolation: "While read differences between texts must be respected, we
     must also recognize the signals that link one text with another and so provide a context for in-
     terpretation, if we are not to miss the forest for the trees".

Yet, to assume that these historical remembrances of David as Israel's Shepherd-King *par excellence* were only *retrospective* in their orientation seems nearsighted and does not take into account the context in which they were used. These occurrences appeared in two documents from the Scrolls that seem to be non-sectarian and liturgical: one a psalm and the other a prayer. Thus the Qumran sectarians incorporated the texts into the Community's life of worship. Seen in light of the whole, we can assume that in the hearts of the sectarians these references to David would have been no mere historical reminiscences, but rather they gave voice to their Messianic hopes for national restoration. From this perspective, the faithfulness of God in his past election of Israel, Jerusalem and David's house, coupled with his continued faithfulness and present activity in and through their suffering, formed the very foundation of their eschatological expectations of restoration. In this way, the historical characterisation of David as Israel's Shepherd-King perhaps had Messianic significance for the Community. The Davidic ideal seemed to have formed the paradigm for the future political leader and warrior-king.

2.4 The Messianic Shepherd-King Motif in *Psalms of Solomon* 17:40–41

Psalms of Solomon 17, which is considered the most detailed description of a pre-Christian Messianic expectation,[123] represents the most extensive use of the Messianic Shepherd-King motif in post-biblical Judaism.[124] The author uses the motif in his articulation of the future blessed state of Israel after the restoration of the kingdom.[125] *Psalms of Solomon* 17 is a prayer[126] and can be divided, at least in the form we now possess,[127] into two petitions (cf. table below). The two petitions have similar structures that begin with a description of a reality – either past and present (petition 1) or future (petition 2). Based on these described realities an appeal to God is offered. In this way, the first parts of the two petitions form the foundation or the basis for the subsequent demands. The entire psalm is book-ended with the confession that the Lord is

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123 Cf. Davenport 1980:68; Waschke 1994:34–35.

124 See Gray 1913:628; Schürer 1986:195; Wright 1985: 640.

125 See similarly Viteau 1911:354.

126 Perhaps in the form of a "psalm of lament" (cf. Brandenburger 1998:219; Davenport 1980: 71; Holm-Nielsen 1977:56; Pomykala 1995:160; Schreiber 2000:163; Schüpphaus 1977:64; Waschke 1994:35), however, the structure of the prayer (see below) seems to deviate from the traditional form with 17:26–45. Attempts to place *Pss. Sol.* 17 into a stiff "lament" form are unconvincing (cf. Winninge 1995:16–17 for a similar opinion).

127 The *Pss. Sol.*, which was originally composed in Hebrew, is extant in both Greek and Syriac translations. For a discussion on the textual background of the *Pss. Sol.* see Hann 1982; Tromp 1993; Wright 1985.

king forever (17:1, 46). With this *inclusio*, the statement forms the theological foundation for the content in between.

	Petition #1	Petition #2
Description of State (basis for petition)	*Pss. Sol.* 17:4–20 (past and present state)	*Pss. Sol.* 17:26–44 (expected future state)
Appeal (response)	*Pss. Sol.* 17:21–25 (in response to present state)	*Pss. Sol.* 17:45 (in response to future state)
The petitions are sandwiched by the confession of YHWH's kingship (17:1, 46)		

Table 4. Structure of Petitions in *Psalms of Solomon* 17

The envisaged blessed state described in the second petition is the direct result of the activity and character of the new Davidic King (17:21), the χριστὸς κυρίος (17:32).[128] The nature of his person and the quality of his reign is described in six discrete units: the future Davidic King will powerfully shepherd the Lord's flock with righteousness and faithfulness (17:40) by (1) gathering and reconstituting the sanctified tribes of Israel in the Land (17:26–28), (2) judging the nations from the glorious restored city of Jerusalem (17:29–31), (3) governing Jew and non-Jew righteously by remaining faithful to the covenant (17:32–34a), (4) showing mercy to the nations and blessing Israel (17:34b–36), (5) being invincible against every foe because of his faith in YHWH, and (6) leading impartially so that none are oppressed (17:40–41).[129]

Since it is neither possible nor necessary to consider the whole description of the Davidic King in detail, two issues are investigated in this section: (1) the function of the Shepherd-King motif in the description of the Messianic Davidic King, and (2) the identity of the group designated as "the flock of the Lord" in *Psalms of Solomon* 17:40.

2.4.1 The Shepherd-King Motif and its Function
in *Psalms of Solomon* 17:40–41

The issue of leadership, which was introduced in 17:26, is taken up again in 17:40–41, forming a thematic *inclusio* around the whole description. These

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128 Some wish to emend χριστὸς κυρίος to χριστὸς κυρίου based on an assumption of the supposed Semitic *Vorlage*. However, there is no support for such a reading in extant Greek or Syriac MSS. For a thorough discussion see Wright 1985:667–68.
129 Davenport (1980:74) rightly observes, "the focus of this section is not upon the personal qualities and characteristics of the king for their own sake, but the actions which these facilitate".

three verses form a climactic statement concerning the character of the Messianic King's government:

40a   He will be mighty in works and powerful in the fear of God,
40b   *when* he shepherds (ποιμαίνων) the Lord's flock in faithfulness
        and righteousness,
40c   *thus* (καί) he will not let any among them be weak in their pasture.
41a   *Moreover*, he will lead all of them in equality,[130]
41b   *thus* (καί) there will not be any who are arrogant among them,
41c   *with the result that* one among them is oppressed (τοῦ κατα-
        δυναστευθῆναι). [131]

As we will argue below, the future Davidic Shepherd-King will lead the Lord's flock in such a way that there will be neither weakness nor oppression in the Promised Land. The six propositions neatly encompass two assertions regarding the leadership of the Davidic King. The first assertion (17:40) reasons that because the Davidic King will shepherd the Lord's flock in faithfulness and righteousness, with mighty and powerful works, and in proper relationship to God, none of the people in the Promised Land will experience weakness. Most importantly, these themes are summations of points the author has already discussed in earlier sections of the description: faithfulness and righteousness (cf. 17:32–33) and mighty and powerful works (cf. 17:34b, 37–38) and proper relationship to God (cf. 17:34a, 39). While this will be developed more fully below, it seems that the author employs the Shepherd-King motif in 17:40 in order to encapsulate the activity and character of the future Davidic King. Schreiber points in a similar direction when he suggests that the rule of the anointed king, which has been discussed in 17:26–39, is described in 17:40 with the picture of the shepherd of the herd of the Lord: "Die Herrschaft des gesalbten Königs, die das Volk vor einem Abweichen vom rechten Weg zu bewahren vermag, wird in V. 40 mit dem Bild des Weidens der Herde des Herrn beschrieben".[132]

The phrase ἐν τῇ νομῇ αὐτῶν in 17:40c appears to designate the Promised Land on the basis of scriptural texts such as Jeremiah 23:3, Ezekiel 34:14 and Isaiah 49:9 where an equivalent phrase is used. Curiously, Isaiah 49:9 is often not noticed and developed by commentators as background for *Psalms of Solomon* 17:40.[133] This fact is surprising given the centrality of the shepherding motif in Isaiah 49:8–13, which is evident not only from the above phrase, but also in the verbs "to graze" (MT: רעה; LXX: βόσκω), "to lead" (MT: נהג; LXX: παρακαλέω), and "to guide" (MT: נהל; LXX: ἄγω). In addition, the

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130 'Equality" (ἰσότητι) is one of two possibilities in the MSS; the other is "holiness" (ὁσιότητι); see Schreiber 2000:179–80.
131 The translation is my own based on Rahlfs' Greek text.
132 Schreiber 2000:179–80.
133 See Atkinson 2001:355–56; Brandenburger 1998:233; Holm-Nielsen 1977:105; Viteau 1911: 366; by contrast see de Jonge 1985:175; Ryle and James 1891:145.

themes which are foundational to the entire context of Isaiah 49 in the mission of the Servant are reflected in the description of the Messianic Shepherd-King of *Psalms of Solomon* 17:26–43: (1) the mouth of the Servant is powerful for judgement – 49:2; *Pss. Sol.* 17:35; (2) YHWH will be glorified in his Servant – 49:3; *Pss. Sol.* 17:31; (3) the Servant's hope is on YHWH – 49:4; *Pss. Sol.* 17:34, 39; (4) regathering of Israel – 49:5, 12, 18; *Pss. Sol.* 17:26; (5) the Servant's strength is YHWH – 49:5; *Pss. Sol.* 17:34, 37–38; (6) reconstituting the tribes – 49:6, 8; *Pss. Sol.* 17:28; (7) salvation of Gentiles – 49:6; *Pss. Sol.* 17:30, 34; (8) nations will be the vehicle by which exiles return – 49:22–23; *Pss. Sol.* 17:31.

The exact meaning of the term ἀσθενέω in 17:40c is difficult to determine. Perhaps the author intended the term to be equivocal: signifying physical, spiritual, emotional, material and political deficiency or limitation, both in a personal and corporate sense.[134] What is more, when seen against the biblical background of Isaiah 49, *Psalms of Solomon* 17:40 is likely an interpretation of Isaiah 49:8–10. The Lord's flock "will not be weak" because the Messianic Shepherd-King will "feed them" (Isa 49:9), so they do not have "hunger or thirst" (Isa 49:10). He will make conditions such that the flock will not experience the negative effects of the "scorching wind" or "sun" (Isa 49:10). Moreover, he will "guide" them "by springs of water" (Isa 49:10). These metaphors refer to the condition of the people subsequent to YHWH's restoration of them.

The second assertion (17:41) makes the case that no longer will there be arrogant leadership who will oppress them, since the Davidic King will lead the people in equality, being the result from his fear of God. The Messiah's reign in contrast to those before him will be characterised by "equality" (ἰσότης), which connotes "fairness" and "justice".[135] This assertion echoes Ezekiel 47:8–9 which envisages the just reign of YHWH's princes in the future restored kingdom of Israel:

> My princes shall no longer oppress my people; but they shall let the house of Israel have the land according to their tribes. Thus says the Lord God: Enough, O princes of Israel! Put away violence and oppression, and do what is just and right.

The outcome of the leadership of the Messianic Shepherd-King is expressed in the absence of two conditions: weakness and oppression. These conditions are the result of a Jewish nation that lives in accordance with the Torah and thereby experiences the blessings of the covenant (Deut 28). By implication then the product of the Messianic Shepherd-King's leadership is nothing less than the experience of the "blessings" of the covenant (cf. Deut 28:1–14). The place of the Messiah in procuring the covenantal blessings through his obedi-

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134 Cf. BDAG, 114.
135 See note 130 above for reference to textual variant.

ence is addressed earlier in the prayer (17:32–34a). The future Davidic King, according to the author of *Psalms of Solomon* 17, is the initiator and guarantor of the covenant blessings for Israel.

Although the explicit reference to the Messianic Shepherd-King motif comes in 17:40 at the end of the portrait, I submit that the motif encapsulates the whole description and, thus, functions as a unifying framework for the vision of the future Davidic King.[136] This conclusion rests on several observations. First, the language at the outset and the conclusion of the description in 17:26 and 40 both set the discussion of the kingship of the future Davidic King in shepherding language. While the explicit reference to the motif waits to appear until 17:40, it does implicitly emerge at the every outset of the description in 17:26 with activities characteristic of shepherding: "gathering" and "leading". The reconstituting activity of the Messianic King, described in this verse, is rooted in the Jewish scriptural traditions related to the regathering of the twelve tribes of Israel back to the Promised Land after the Exile.[137]

Not emphasized enough by commentators is the formative role Jeremiah 23:1–8 plays not only in this discrete section (17:26–28), but also in the psalm as a whole.[138] Evidently, *Psalms of Solomon* 17:26–28 is dependent on the ruling/shepherding concepts of Jeremiah 23 and its derivatives (e.g. Ezek 34, 37). The actions of "gathering" (συνάγω) and "leading" or "going before" (ἀφηγέομαι), which the Davidic King will perform, reflect elements of the Messianic Shepherd-King motif in Jeremiah 23:1–8; 31:17 and Ezekiel 34:13; 37:21.

Interestingly, in the biblical traditions which relate to the Shepherd-King motif (e.g. Micah, Jer, Ezek) YHWH himself is clearly responsible for Israel's restoration and its attending circumstances, while the Davidic King is appointed to govern after the eschatological restoration. In contrast, the author of the *Psalms of Solomon* 17, perhaps under the influence of the depiction of the Servant in Isaiah 49, coalesces these distinct roles. In his view, the Davidide fills the role of both the gatherer and governor of Israel. Yet from the author's

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136 See correspondingly Schreiber 2000:179–80.

137 Most commentators would agree with Holm-Nielsen's (1977:101) assessment of the *Traditionshintergrund* of 17:21–43: "Die folgende Schilderung das Messias beruht vor allem auf 2 Sam 7, entlehnt aber im übrigen die Ausdrucksweise aus mehreren 'messianischen' Passagen, namentlich in der Prophetenliteratur". Waschke (1994:41), however, under-represents the role of the prophetic material when he argues: "daß PsSal 17 seinen Einsatz für die Bitte um den Messias aus der alttestamentlichen Davidtradition und hier vor allem den traditionellen Königspsalmen gewinnt". This sidelining of the OT prophetic material is perhaps the result of his presuppositions related to messianism in the prophetic literature (see 1994:31–35).

138 The structure and content of this passage suggest that Jer 23 was foundational to the expectation envisioned here in *Pss. Sol.* 17. Notice the following: (1) critique and judgement of present Jewish leadership (Jer 23:1–2) – cf. *Pss. Sol.* 17:5–25; (2) announcement of the gathering of the flock of Israel back to the Promised Land (Jer 23:3) – cf. *Pss. Sol.* 17:26, 44; (3) installation of a Davidic King who will rule wisely, with justice and righteousness (Jer 23:5–6) – cf. *Pss. Sol.* 17:26–43.

perspective this is no contradiction, since he happily believes that it is God, by means of the Messianic Davidic King, who will accomplish these tasks: the work is at one and the same time both the Messiah's and YHWH's.[139] This conviction is made explicit in 17:44: "Blessed will be those who are born in those days, in order to see the good of Israel in the gathering of the tribes, which God will do".

Secondly, the first part of the petition (17:26–44) has a progressive structure that affectively leads the worshipper to a crescendo. In this portion of the prayer the author uses six discrete units of thought in his description of the future Davidic King and each of these units builds progressively upon the other as the argument moves toward the climactic exhortation (17:45). Thus, the use of the Messianic Shepherd-King motif comes at the height of the argument and seems to be the capstone of the description.[140]

Finally, that the Messianic Shepherd-King motif frames the description of the future Davidic King is confirmed by the polemical tone of the psalm. Just as the Davidic Shepherd-King traditions were taken up by the Prophets in polemical contexts, so also here the motif is called upon to perform the same task. Having bemoaned the plight of Israel in view of the political and Temple establishments (17:1–25), the author expresses his intense hope for the restoration of the nation under a new, YHWH-sanctioned Davidic Kingdom. Thus, while the author developed this description of the blessed state of Israel and the role of the Messianic Shepherd-King in bringing it about from the scriptural traditions at his disposal, his own dissatisfaction with the current political-religious circumstances seems to have both motivated his vision and shaped its presentation. It is likely that the ideal figure described in *Psalms of Solomon* 17:26–44 stands in stark contrast to the political-religious leadership in the author's present.[141]

To sum up, I have stressed that the Messianic Shepherd-King motif evinced in *Psalms of Solomon* 17 appears to provide for this late first-century B.C. author(s) a framework under which various eschatological expectations

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139 Contra Schüpphaus (1977:80) who understands these two points as competing *Gedanken-gänge* and, thus, asserts "die PsSal [sind] jetzt durchgängig von im wesentlichen zwei verschieden Blickrichtungen beherrscht und damit von zwei unterschiedlichen Themenkreisen geprägt". Buchanan (1984:22), however, points out that in Jewish literature in the post-biblical period thinkers were quite comfortable with a complementary view of the kingdom of God and the kingdom of David. Of *Pss. Sol.* 17 he observes: "The poet who confessed that the Lord was King and that the 'Kingdom of God was forever in judgement (Ps Sol 17:1, 4) also reminded the Lord that the Lord had chosen David to be king over Israel (Ps Sol 17:5) and urged the Lord to raise up for his chosen people their king, the son of David (Ps Sol 14:23) ... though the Lord himself would be King at the same time"; see likewise Horbury 2003:45.

140 In summarizing the section Nickelsburg (1981:208) notices this progression when he writes, "he [Messianic King] will reign in Israel as ruler, judge and shepherd of the flock of the Lord".

141 For discussion see Atkinson 2001:376–77; Brandenburger 1998:235.

related to the restoration of Israel's kingdom could be joined together. In form-
ing his vision of the ideal future king, the author mingled the description of the
Servant's activities in Isaiah 49 with the Shepherd-King expectation. The re-
sult of the amalgamated expectation was a comprehensive and unprecedented
profile for the future Davidic ruler. This Messianic expectation was forged in
the tumultuous decades of the late-first century in Palestine. Desperate condi-
tions within Palestine, primarily in and around Jerusalem,[142] seem to have led
the author to see the abiding relevance of the prophetic Messianic Shepherd-
King motif for his own day. He used the motif to express his protest against
abuses experienced at the hands of the present leadership as well as his intense
and enduring hope for national and territorial restoration.

2.4.2 The Lord's Flock (*Pss. Sol.* 17:40)

With a grasp of the function of the Messianic Shepherd-King motif in *Psalms
of Solomon* 17, the focus shifts to an investigation of the nature of the "Lord's
flock". The term "the Lord's flock" (ποίμνιον κυρίου) in *Psalms of Solomon*
17:40 possesses a rich background in Jewish Scripture. In the Bible, the term
exclusively refers to Israel and is especially prominent in prophetic literature
and in the Psalms.[143] The aim of this section is to address the question: to
whom does the term "Lord's flock" in *Psalms of Solomon* 17:40 refer? Three
options are possible: (1) corporate, national Israel with no individual distinc-
tion, (2) a subset and nucleus of national Israel, who are "sinfully righteous",
or (3) a group made up of both a subset of Israel and "reverent Gentiles".

2.4.2.1 Corporate, National Israel: They/Israel

Although this first option seems unable to warrant much consideration, given
the sectarian nature of the document, one cannot brush it aside too quickly in
light of the central interest in Israel as a national and political entity. The vi-
sion of Israel in this psalm in particular, and in the whole of the document gen-
erally, is a restored political state. This vision of Israel seems to have been the
fuel that drove the shaping of the document, and thus, the argument of the
Psalms of Solomon. The "seams" of the document, the introduction and con-
clusion, provide a clue to this overarching theme. The document begins with a
realisation of the impurity of the people which has resulted unexpectedly from
the perspective of personified Jerusalem, in the invasion of "sinners"; in this
case the sinners are a foreign invader (the Romans) who has come to conquer
Israel and take away their sovereignty. From the perspective of the psalmist

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142 On the Jerusalem provenance of *Pss. Sol.* see Wright 1985:641.
143 See discussion in ch. 2 above.

this occurrence is justified since Israel has been unfaithful to the Covenant. According to the covenantal perspective of the author, this situation of judgement is, nevertheless, only the beginning of a process of restoration, whose completion is narrated in chapter eighteen. Here, with the arrival of the Messiah, Israel is first cleansed and then restored to independent sovereignty once again – restoring the Land to the tribes by re-establishing its borders and being governed by its Davidic King as a restored, purified, national state.

In *Psalms of Solomon* 17 this national political interest is predominate in at least three ways. First, it can be seen in the implicit contrast made between the present regime of lawless Gentile kingly figures and an unrighteous group of Jewish leadership on the one hand and the vision of the future Davidic King on the other. The author of *Psalms of Solomon* 17 seems to consciously describe the Messiah with a view to his current socio-political situation.[144] Secondly, the vision of the Shepherd-King in *Psalms of Solomon* 17:26–44 concerns a national and international government with Jerusalem as its capital (see 17:31). Finally, the use of the third person plural throughout *Psalms of Solomon* 17:21–44 suggests the concern for national Israel: *they/Israel*. For example, 17:21 states, "Look, Lord and raise up for them (αὐτοῖς) their (αὐτῶν) king ... so that he reigns over Israel your servant"; 17:26 asserts, "he will gather *the holy people, those* he will lead in righteousness"; and 17:44 contends "Blessed will be *those* who are born in those days, in order to see the good of Israel in the gathering of *the tribes*". The political state of Israel was a central concern for both the author of *Psalms of Solomon* 17 and the redactor of the whole document. In spite of this clear national interest, an argument that the "Lord's Flock" designates all of Israel without distinction cannot be maintained. This will become clear in the next point.

2.4.2.2 A Purified Subset of Israel: We/Israel

The national Israel, as noted above, was a central concern for the authors and redactor of the *Psalms of Solomon*; nevertheless, this concern for the nation was focused on a particular group within Israel. This subgroup was designated by the use of first person plural forms: *we/Israel*.[145] In *Psalms of Solomon* 17, it can be seen especially in the opening and closing of the psalm: 17:1 – "Lord, you are our king for ever and ever"; 17:2 – "our hope will be in the Lord our saviour"; 17:3 – "and the kingdom of our God is forever"; 17:7 – "a man foreign to *our* race"; 17:11 – "the lawless one made desolate *our* land". This we/Israel designation, however, is clearest in *Psalms of Solomon* 17:45: "May

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144 See note 141 above.
145 For this designation see Winninge 1995:131–34.

God send quickly his mercy upon Israel, may he deliver *us* from the uncleanness of profane enemies".[146]

What is more, this group is contrasted with another subgroup in Israel designated by the authors of *Psalms of Solomon* as "sinners" (ἁμαρτολοί). The "sinners" within Israel can designate either Jewish leadership (*Pss. Sol.* 17:5, 23, 25) or the common person (*Pss. Sol.* 17:20). This polarizing of Israel into two subgroups is based on the issue of purity, and in *Psalms of Solomon* purity is described by the rubric of "the sinners" and "the righteous". *Psalms of Solomon* 4:3–12 is one of the most fundamental passages to contend with in order to grasp this issue. Here, in a way similar to the canonical Psalm 1, the author contrasts the "righteous" with the "sinner". Using the perceptive designations of "ritual" and "moral" sins offered by J. Klawans, a "righteous" person is described as one who commits only "ritual" sins.[147] Thus, this person is not perfect, but, when they "stumble" (4:5), they look to the Lord for salvation and find cleansing through repentance (4:8). On the other hand, the "sinner" commits "moral" offences and adds "sin upon sin". In other words, not only do they commit the greater evil, but they do not repent.

The author and his community, who used these psalms in the life of worship, clearly delineated two groups within Israel and believed that they themselves were the "sinfully righteous"[148] who were prepared for the arrival of the Davidic King. At his advent they would receive God's mercy and deliverance from their enemies. The other subgroup within Israel, though they were members of national Israel by birth, would be removed from the Land and destroyed with the lawless Gentiles. B. Embry is indeed correct when he writes, "the end result of this work [the work of Messiah] is the purification of the nation of Israel, so called precisely because they are now pure before the God of Abraham (*Pss. Sol.* 9:9; 18:3), not because they are genealogically Israelites".[149] Thus, the flock of Lord is, at the very least, that group presently (from the point of view of the author) within Israel, who are "sinfully righteous" and eagerly awaiting the arrival of the Messiah. At his advent, they will form the nucleus of a restored national state in the Land of Israel, to whom the Diaspora will return.[150]

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146 Cf. Winninge 1995:96.

147 Klawans 2000:25–27; see similarly Winninge (1995:126) who observes that the sins are of two kinds: cultic and sexual; and Embry (2002:119) who notes: "For the author of *Pss. Sol.* the issue of purity and impurity, both ritual and moral, is taken from the Hebrew Bible's understanding of purity and impurity. The discussion of such moral sins as found in Leviticus 18 and 26 as well as Deuteronomy 28 and 32 are source texts for the concept as developed by the author."

148 Winninge 1995:131–34.

149 Embry 2002:121.

150 Notice the interesting, and positive, reference to the Diaspora in *Pss. Sol.* 17:17: "and the soul which was saved out of them [righteous who were suffering in the land] was precious in the

2.4.2.3 A Combined Group: Subset of Israel and Reverent Gentiles

One group that must be considered a potential member of the Lord's eschatological flock, according to *Psalms of Solomon* 17:40, is the "reverent Gentiles".[151] These Gentiles not only show proper deference (φόβος) to the Messiah in his judgement on the earth, and thus receive his mercy (17:35),[152] but also are in part responsible for the return of "the children of Jerusalem" to the Promised Land (17:31). As we observed in *Psalms of Solomon* 17:26–44, the argument about the activity of the Messianic Shepherd-King develops progressively and ultimately includes both Israel and the nations under the government of the Shepherd-King (cf. especially 17:32–34). What is more, both groups are, at this point, referred to by the description "holy" in 17:32: "all will be holy".[153] The groups remain clearly divisible in 17:35 (note the distinction between nations and "the people of the Lord"), but they both seem to be included in the next verse: "and he himself will be pure from sin, in order to rule a *great people*". This conglomeration of reverent Gentiles and Israel could be carried right through to 17:40, so that now both Israel and the Gentiles are labelled "the Lord's flock".

The possibility of a combined grouping of Jew and Gentile under the rubric of "flock" seems all the more likely when the *time reference* of the statement is considered.[154] The author envisages the group referred to as the "flock of the Lord" eschatologically subsequent to the restoration of Israel. In the wake of the purification and re-establishment of the national state of Israel, the

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sight of the exiles". The exiles are viewed here as watching with great interest the events presently taken place in the Promised Land.

151 The idea of "reverent Gentiles" may form a significant parallel to the viewpoint expressed in the Matthean pericope of the Canaanite woman; see ch. 8 below.

152 For more discussion of the meaning of the word φόβος in 17:34c see ch. 8 below. The term could be understood in one of two ways. Either the author means to say that the Gentiles, because of God's judgement, will be intimidated, frightful and terrified or he means to say that they will be reverent and respectful. The latter option appears more likely for two reasons. One, the verse states that the Davidic King will "show mercy to the nations" because of their posture toward him in light of his judgement. If the first option was what the author meant, it begs the question: why would he show them mercy, simply because they are terrified of his judgement? It is safe to assume that the judgement of the Messianic King under the authority of YHWH will be frightful to all. The mercy granted implies something more than emotional terror; it implies a proper attitude toward the one who is terrifying. Two, all the uses of either the verb or the noun of root φοβ in *Pss. Sol.*, save this one, are directed toward righteous, Jewish persons or, as in 17:40, to the Messiah himself (Cf. 2:33; 3:12; 4:21; 4:23; 5:18; 6:5; 8:4; 12:4; 13:12; 15:13; 17:34, 40; 18:7, 8, 9, 11). One text, 2:33, is quite relevant to our verse here for it states, "Praise God, you who fear the Lord with understanding, for *the Lord's mercy is upon those who fear him with* judgement". Given these two facts it is persuasive to take the fear here to be the proper attitude of a person toward YHWH's vice regent.

153 Cf. similarly Davenport 1980:76.

154 See likewise Winninge (1995:98) who notes the change of perspective toward the nations in this future-orientated part of *Pss. Sol.* 17: "For the future, under Messiah's reign, the nations in general are concerned".

"flock of the Lord", over which the Messianic King will shepherd, includes both those within the Promised Land and those throughout the whole earth.

According to the *Psalms of Solomon*, simultaneous to the purification and restoration of national Israel, the nations of the earth will undergo a restoration as well. The visible sign of the purified nations will be their newly characterised relationship to the Davidic King: nations will come before him in fear (17:34). After the restoration, therefore, the shepherd of Israel will be the shepherd of the whole world. Consequently, the Lord's flock will be made up of both Israel and reverent Gentiles. What must not be overlooked, however, is the present outlook of the author and his community. Because the reverent Gentiles receive the mercy of the Messiah subsequent to the restoration of Israel, his first task, according to the author, is to purify Israel and restore its kingdom.[155] For that reason, prior to this initial activity of the Messiah, the people of God are not to be linked with the Gentiles and are considered "sinners" (cf. *Pss. Sol.* 1:8; 13:3; 17:24, 25).[156]

From the following discussion, it was concluded that the term "the flock of the Lord" in its eschatological setting includes two groups: (1) the "sinfully righteous" subset of Israel who form the nucleus of the restored political state of Israel, and (2) "reverent Gentiles" who pledge their allegiance to the kingship of the Messiah when he judges the earth. However, from the present setting of the author of the psalms, the Lord's flock includes only the subset of Israel, which comprises their own group in *Eretz* Israel and perhaps the Diaspora.

2.4.3 Conclusion

Psalms of Solomon 17:26–41 comprises the most extensive use of the Messianic Shepherd-King motif in all of Second Temple literature. From an examination of 17:40–41 and its context, it was argued that the description of the eschatological Davidide is subsumed under the rubric of the Messianic Shepherd-King. In this way, the motif was a vehicle for a soft-sectarian group in first-century Palestine to voice its distain for and disenfranchisement from the

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155 See Embry (2002:113) who, although certainly is right to see the importance of the purifying activity of the Messiah for the author(s) of *Pss. Sol.*, presses his case too far by making the Messiah's role as purifier primary to that of governor (political): "Thus the action of Messiah is one of purification of Jerusalem and the nation of Israel ... The argument in *Pss. Sol.* regarding the political function of Messiah is secondary to the work of the Messiah as purifier. The purgation of the people, Jerusalem and the nations is tantamount to the establishment of the kingdom of God on the earth."

156 The Gentiles are most often linked with the Romans (cf. *Pss. Sol.* 2:2; 7:1; 8:2); cf. Winninge 1995:128.

political and religious authorities centred in Jerusalem.[157] The motif was also employed to express their abiding hope for national restoration by YHWH through his Davidic King.

In addition, the present study on *Psalms of Solomon* 17:40–41 reveals a unique understanding of the nature of the flock of the Lord. It seems that they conceived of the Lord's flock in the present as a subset of Israel, comprising both the "sinfully righteous" of the Land and the Diaspora. At the appearance of the Messiah, these would form the nucleus of a restored national state. Yet, in the *eschaton*, when Messiah's kingdom extents to include all the nations, the Lord's flock will expand to include the one nation Israel as well as reverent Gentiles nations. With such a significant use of the Messianic Shepherd-King motif, in a setting not so distant either temporally or socio-politically from the Gospel of Matthew, *Psalms of Solomon* 17 provides an important comparison to the Evangelist's use of the motif.

2.5 Conclusion

The aim of this chapter was to discover the meaning and function of the Messianic Shepherd-King motif in the first-century Jewish milieu. Such a study, it was hoped, would provide the appropriate literary and historical context for grasping not only Matthew's use of the Shepherd-King motif in general, but also, and more importantly for my interests, his unique "lost sheep of the house of Israel" phrase. The two issues will be succinctly addressed in conclusion: the Messianic Shepherd-King motif functioned polemically and it carried political-national freight.

The polemical nature of the motif was observed in the prophetic usage of the Davidic Shepherd-King tradition in the exilic and post-exilic prophets. And while it was reflected in the Dead Sea Scrolls only faintly, the motif was used intensively in the formulation of the Messianic expectation of *Psalms of Solomon* 17. This discussion attempted to demonstrate that the Davidic Shepherd-King motif of the prophets, although not widely used in Second Temple Judaism, was a useful vehicle for some Jewish writers to express both their protest against the present religio-political situation and their idyllic visions of Messianic restoration. What S. Freyne pointed out about Messianic expectations generally applies to the Shepherd-King motif as well: "These pictures func-

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157 Although there is significant disagreement over the question of the authorship of the *Pss. Sol.*, what is generally agreed upon is the fact that the document represents, to a lesser or greater extent, a sectarian group living in or around Jerusalem (see Wright 1985:641; only Embry [2002:116–19] in a recent article has argued to the contrary). At least four different groups remain viable options for the group's identity: (1) the Pharisees – e.g. Winninge 1995, (2) Essenes [Qumran or non-Qumran] – e.g. Hann 1988, (3) Haisidim – e.g. O'Dell 1961, or (4) other Jewish sectarian group – e.g. Atkinson 1998.

tioned ... as a critique in the light of the experiences which kingship brought to Israel, by projecting a counter-picture of how different the future king would be".[158]

A similar scarcity of use could generally be said of Messianism as we already pointed out. From the extant literature of the Second Temple period, the Messianic Shepherd-King motif, like Messianism, seems to be used only episodically, in a formulaic and passionate manner.

Related to the polemical nature of the motif is its political-national force. We observed that in the Former Prophets the function of the shepherding imagery, as it related to David, underwent a fundamental transformation. In the beginning of the narrative, the shepherding imagery was used to depict David's youth and inexperience: David, the shepherd boy. However, with his appointment as king in 2 Samuel 5:2 (cf. also 7:8) the imagery came to represent his military and political career. The prophets (and one of the two Psalms) appear to have taken up the political and military sense of the image in formulating their Messianic expectations. Through the writings of the Hebrew prophets, the Messianic Shepherd-King motif seems to express an undying hope of the future restoration of the political kingdom of Israel – a hope that was based on the conviction of the eternal nature of the David covenant. The hopes of a purified and reconstituted land comprised of the regathered twelve tribes and a new and righteous government installed to rule over this newly formed political entity of united Israel were vital to the Shepherd-King motif.

Significantly, in the literature of the late first century B.C. the future Davidic figure was attributed with roles that in the Jewish Scriptures were reserved for YHWH alone. According to *Psalms of Solomon* 17, the future king will exterminate both the occupying Gentile political power from the Land and the usurpers of David's throne. In addition, in what appeared to be a mingling of the diverse prophetic traditions of Isaiah 49 and those related to the Messianic Shepherd-King, the future Davidide will regather Israel to the Land, will bless Israel and show mercy to the nations, and govern over them with justice and righteousness. Thus, the Messianic Shepherd-King is not simply a maintainer of a condition brought about by YHWH as he appears in the Davidic Shepherd-King passages of the Jewish Scripture, but rather he is the one who establishes the new order through his actions as well as the one who governs over it. So coalesced are the functions of the Messianic Shepherd-King and YHWH, for the author of *Psalms of Solomon* 17, that in the actions of the King the glory of YHWH is visible (17:31).

At the very least, the conclusion seems inescapable that the Messianic Shepherd-King motif in ancient Jewish thinking functioned polemically and carried political freight. Thus, if one used the motif in the first century, unless

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158 Freyne 2000:232.

there was significant qualification or modification, it would have conjured up in the minds of hearers or readers political protest and the hope for national revolution. What is essential to point out, however, is that none of the instances of the use of the Messianic Shepherd-King motif investigated in this chapter could be considered a *call to arms*. This motif is not on par with a declaration of independence that an oppressed people support by the raising of a militia. Rather than a declaration of independence supported by an army, it is a prayer, a cry for YHWH to act and do what he promised (see *Pss. Sol.* 17:4, 21). This notwithstanding, the motif should not be thought of as any less political or nationalistic.

In addition, the Lord's flock is apparently a political-national entity. In the prophetic literature, there is no ambiguity with respect to the nature of the group: they are Israelites from both houses of national Israel who are brought together again within a restored Davidic Empire. In the *Psalms of Solomon*, however, the picture is more complex depending on the historical vantage point. In the present, from the viewpoint of the author, prior to the appearance of the Messiah, the flock of the Lord is made up of the "sinfully righteous" within the Land as well as the Diaspora. Together these entities will unite in a restored nation-state at the appearance of the Messiah. Then in the wake of the purification and re-establishment of geopolitical Israel, the nations who show proper deference to the Messiah will be purified. In the *eschaton*, the Lord's flock, over which the Davidic Shepherd-King will govern, will consist of both Jews and Gentiles.

In light of the aforementioned conclusion, what would we make of Matthew's Gospel if it could be demonstrated that he used the Messianic Shepherd-King motif in support of his understanding of Jesus of Nazareth? What is more, what would the implications be for our understanding of "the lost sheep of the house of Israel" phrase? To these issues we now turn in parts 2 and 3 of the thesis.

Part Two

Introduction to Part Two

The Messianic Shepherd-King
in the Gospel of Matthew

Part 2 continues the process of setting the appropriate context for understanding Matthew's phrase "the lost sheep of the house of Israel". The aim of Part 2 is to investigate the presence and function of the Messianic Shepherd-King motif for Matthew's presentation of Jesus the Messiah, the son of David. While scholars have been reluctant to notice the political implications of Matthew's narrative, his use of the Messianic Shepherd-King motif may point to a strongly nationalistic *Tendenz* within the Gospel.

The first three chapters of Part 2 focus on three particular passages in Matthew: Matthew 2:6, 9:36, and 26:31 respectively. While the selection of the three passages was discussed in the introduction, it will be useful to briefly rehearse the criteria used in the selection of the passages. Given our discoveries in chapter 2, we can be relatively certain that a passage in Matthew contains the Shepherd-King motif if it includes the following elements: (1) specific shepherd/sheep terminology, (2) a political context which contains an element of despair over and/or a critique of (or counter-picture to) the leadership of Israel, and (3) a reference to the Davidide, or a citation or direct allusion to a Davidic Shepherd-King prophetic text.

In each chapter a four-fold procedure will be followed. First, the given text will be assessed in order to demonstrate Matthew's use of the Shepherd-King motif. Next, because the Scripture citation or allusion is the *primary* source of the motif, its employment will be analysed not only in Matthew, but also in ancient Jewish sources in order to provide a historical backdrop for understanding the way Matthew employs the text.[1] The study of the ancient Jewish usage of the texts cited by Matthew is useful for at least two reasons. In the first place, where possible it is instructive to discern whether Matthew is in continuity or discontinuity with other first-century Jewish interpretation. The

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1 When dealing with the quotations this study will take its cues from Beaton's (2002:34) recent work on Isaianic citations in Matthew's Gospel. These sections in the following chapters will include both an exploration into the text-form and the Jewish milieu in order to provide the best context for the investigation of Matthew's usage.

question here is: does Matthew use the texts in ways dissimilar to other extant first-century Jewish interpretation? If yes, it will be important to investigate the differences to discover how Matthew has developed the tradition. Second, if similar interpretations of the same biblical texts can be found in first-century Jewish literature, then it is possible to see connections to a real-world first-century Jewish audience who were reading these texts.

Continuing the four-fold procedure, a third step will be to compare the text with synoptic parallels so as to bring into relief any peculiar Matthean emphases.[2] Finally, the significance and function of the pericope for the Gospel will be summarised. A final chapter in Part 2 seeks to justify assertions made in the earlier chapters concerning the presence of an abiding hope for territorial restoration.

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2   Two passages have parallels in Mark: Matt 9:36//Mark 6:34; Matt 26:31//Mark 14:27.

Chapter Three

Jesus the Shepherd-King of Israel
(Matthew 2:6)

"From you shall come a ruler
who is to shepherd my people Israel"
Matthew 2:6

3.1 The Shepherd-King Motif

The task of this section is to verify the presence of the Shepherd-King motif in Matthew 2:6. This enquiry, of course, will require the use of the three criteria discussed in the introduction. Before the investigation is undertaken, however, it is important to briefly point out the contextual parameters of the passage. Most commentators agree that the passage best divides into two units: "(1) the worship of the magi (vv. 1–12) and (2) the wrath of Herod (vv. 13–23)".[1] In this scheme, Matthew 2:1–6 forms the first half of the first unit of the chapter.

Matthew 2:6 represents perhaps the best example of the Shepherd-King motif in the Gospel and as such, the criteria which reveal its character are easily met. First, the shepherd/sheep terminology is clear enough as the scriptural citation which concludes this pericope contains the term ποιμανεῖ. While the term can be used generally to refer to the act of ruling, Matthew draws on this imagery from the Jewish Scriptures because it contains Davidic and Messianic connotations, as will become clear below.

The second criterion, which requires a political-national context, is met in this pericope, although its political significance seems either expurgated or unnoticed by most commentators. Commentators, on the whole, place the emphasis of the passage on the contrast between the responses to Jesus by the Magi, who represent the pagan Gentile world on the one hand, and the Jews and the Jewish king, on the other.[2] While we cannot wholly agree with J. A. Overman's assertion that the Magi are actually a foreign embassy from the

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1   Hagner 1993:24; see similarly Gnilka 1986:33.
2   Cf. Davies and Allison 1988:228–29; Gnilka 1986:33; Hagner 1993:27; Harrington 1991:49; Keener 1999:97–105; Luz 2002:172.

East on a political mission, it should not be overlooked that their presence has political significance, since Magi played a significant political role in Persia.[3] It is too limited a perspective on this passage in particular, but also the Gospel in general, to place their significance purely at the service of supporting Matthew's vision of the universal mission of the church. While it may be undeniable that the episode fits into this nexus of ideas, readers should not miss the political implications of this pericope.

It is often stated, since O. Michel, that Matthew should be read from the end to the beginning,[4] but this strategy has perhaps unnecessarily coloured the reading of passages such as this.[5] Without wishing to lessen the importance of the universal aspects of the gospel evident in Matthew, these dignitaries came to Jerusalem "to pay homage" (προσκυνῆσαι) to the "King of the Jews" (2:2).[6] R. Horsley seems right in asserting: "When the Magi do obeisance to the child, it is an act of highest respect for, homage to, and submission to a king, a political ruler, not an act of worship of divinity, further expressing the worldwide political import of what is happening here".[7] Thus, the Magi's presence in the narrative does reveal a comparison of sorts, but it is a comparison that primarily brings into relief the failure of Israel's leadership to recognize the birth of the Messiah for Israel.[8]

Accordingly, the matrix of characters in the scene: Herod, the Magi, the chief priests and the scribes, and "all Jerusalem", along with the larger framework of the *Vorgeschichte* (chs. 1–2), point to the fact that the illegitimate and failed leadership of Israel is at the centre of this passage. Taking the latter as the context for the former, Matthew sets out his agenda from the opening line of the Gospel: Βίβλος γενέσεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ υἱοῦ Δαυὶδ υἱοῦ Ἀβραάμ (1:1): Jesus is the Davidic Messiah, son of Abraham. With these titles it seems Matthew has evoked Israel's traditional restoration expectations; expectations which we have discussed in chapter 2 above. This fact appears to be confirmed by the genealogy which succeeds. Matthew schematises Israel's history into three segments emphasizing four primary points: (1) Abraham, (2) David, (3) the Babylonian captivity, and (4) the coming of the Messiah (1:17). This gene-

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3   Overman 1996:44; see similarly Horsley 1989:53–60.
4   Cf. Michel 1950:21; cf. also Brown 1977:25.
5   For a similar opinion see recently Repschinski 2006:250; he comments, "I suggest reading backwards from Matthew 28 can *obscure* how the commission is prepared in the Gospel ..." (emphasis added).
6   This political significance was not lost on early Christian interpretation which by the fifth century was suggesting the Magi were kings: cf. Luz (2002:170) who notes that Caesarius of Arles (c. 470–542) was the first known person to have made this suggestion. This assertion is supported by the notion that Isa 60:3–7 and Psa 72:10–11 are echoed here. These texts picture a pilgrimage of Gentile kings to Jerusalem in the Messianic Age presenting gifts to the Messiah.
7   Horsley 1989:58.
8   For more discussion on the Jewish leader *versus* Gentile motif, see ch. 8 below.

alogy is no mere family tree; it is a particular construal of Israel's history. For Matthew, not unlike some other Second Temple Jewish groups,[9] the Babylonian captivity continued to cast a shadow over Israel even after the return of some of the exiles and the rebuilding of the temple and the city in the years after 538 B.C.

The framework of the opening chapters of the Gospel perhaps suggests that for Matthew it was not until the arrival of Jesus, the divinely appointed heir of David's throne – a throne that had been vacated for nearly half a millennium (586 B.C.), that the Deuteronomic curses (Deut 27–28) had begun to be reversed.[10] The meaning of Matthew 1:21 in light of this scheme is revealed to be both a religious and national salvation:

> The Messiah, whose appearance marked the end of the Age of Wrath and the renewal of God's presence with Israel, would deliver the nation from the sins that had caused God to turn his face from his people (cf. e.g. Deut 30:3; Isa 40:2; 43:25; 44:22; Dan 9:16; Bar 3:1–5; 4Q504 1–2 vi).[11]

Within this structure, then, the forgiveness of Israel's sins provides the basis for the reestablishment of the kingdom of Israel under the kingship of the Messiah: "Matthew seemingly represents his own religious group as the penitent community whose appearance marks the beginning of the end of the period of humiliation and whose divinely ordained destiny is to inherit the glory prepared for God's people".[12]

Within this national-restoration framework, Matthew 2:1–6 emphasizes the competing nature of the *earthly kingdoms* of Herod and Jesus.[13] In addition, Herod's kingdom, as it is juxtaposed with Jesus', is shown to be linked with the subjugation and suffering of Israel that was part and parcel of the exilic condition. This is especially emphasised in Herod's brutal massacre of Israel's children in 2:16–18.[14] The repeated designation of Herod as "king" (2:1, 3), the inquiry of the Magi about the birth of the "King of the Jews" (2:2)

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9 See Part 1 above. For further references to similar Second Temple sources see Verseput 1995:105, n. 11.
10 Cf. similarly Knowles 1993:172–73; Verseput 1995:107–08; Wright 1992:385–86.
11 Verseput 1995:108; cf. similarly Carter 2001:75–90, esp. 79–82; Repschinski 2006:256 with further discussion later in the chapter. It would perhaps be illuminating to consider Matt 1:23 and the quotation from Isa 7:14 in this light. Beaton (2002:96) has noted that the most frequently observed discontinuity between Matthew and Isaiah is: "Matthew's interests are theological and soteriological, whereas Isaiah's concerns were geopolitical". However, given Matthew's Deuteronomic framework, perhaps Beaton's (2002:96) caution is warranted: "this division of political and salvific concerns, popular in today's literature, may be too hasty". Matthew has perhaps employed Isa 7:14 in 1:23 for the very purpose of announcing the inaugurated liberation from "political trouble".
12 Verseput 1995:107.
13 See the contrasting point made by Bauckham (1996:4–7, 14) – and many others – who sees Jesus' use (and I assume the evangelists's) of the term "kingdom of God" to be a contrast between *God's rule* and *earthly rule*.
14 See similarly Verseput 1995:109.

and the title Χριστός "Messiah" on the lips of Herod is suggestive of a politi-
cal *Leitmotiv* in the Gospel.[15] This can be confirmed by, among other things,
the subsequent reuse of the title "King of the Jews" in the latter portion of the
Gospel in the Passion Narrative (cf. 27:11, 29, 37, 42 [Jews use title "King of
Israel"]).[16] Matthew has enveloped his Gospel with the testimony of Jesus'
claim to the earthly kingdom of Israel. Moreover, D. Verseput seems right that
Matthew "shows surprisingly little reticence in associating Jesus' Davidic right
with an earthly *political* agenda".[17]

The presence of the Shepherd-King motif is also confirmed by the com-
posite quotation in Matthew 2:6.[18] It is not necessary here to delve into this
point since it will be considered in detail below. For now it will suffice to
briefly describe the contours of the quotation and recall its scriptural context.
My purpose is merely to show that it is taken from a passage in which the Da-
vidic Shepherd-King tradition figures significantly. This citation is considered
by scholars to be a composite of Micah 5:1[ET=5:2] and 2 Samuel 5:2/
1 Chronicles 11:2.[19] In the former context the prophet predicts a time when
YHWH will raise up a ruler of Israel from Bethlehem. While the MT and
Greek Scriptures do not have the term "to shepherd" in the last line, as does
Matthew, the shepherding imagery in Micah 5 is close at hand: Micah 5:3[4]
states, "And he shall stand and shepherd [ποιμανεῖ/רָעָה] his flock in the
strength of the Lord".[20] Matthew's replacement of the last line of Micah 5:2
with 2 Samuel 5:2 (on which see further below) is, therefore, consistent with
Micah's context, but infuses the pericope with greater Messianic emphasis by
making the link to David more explicit.[21]

Within the orbit of these more obvious citations other prophetic passages
which were mentioned in chapter 2 present themselves as influential in the
formulation of the ideology represented by this conflated citation. The exilic
prophecy of Jeremiah 23:1–8 should be mentioned as the fountain head for the
later post-exilic prophecies of Ezekiel in 34:23–24 and 37:24–25.[22] Together
these texts announce the future arrival of a Davidic King who will "shepherd
the Lord's flock". In these contexts, this Davidic figure comes on the heels of
God's judgement on Israel's shepherds and his subsequent deliverance of his
people. The deliverance is portrayed as a gathering of the scattered flock and
their return to the Promised Land where they are gently provided for.[23] Thus,

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15 See also ch. 5 below.
16 For a discussion of the verbal correspondences between Matt 1–2 and 26–28 see Nolan 1979: 104–08.
17 Verseput 1995:108.
18 Cf. also Martin 1975:272.
19 See e.g. Menken 2004:255.
20 Cf. Stendahl 1968:99–100.
21 Cf. Davies and Allison 1988:243.
22 Cf. also Heil 1993:699–700.
23 See likewise the recent work of Chae 2004; Huntzinger 1999:83–157, esp. 155–56.

the Davidic shepherd replaces Israel's unrighteous leadership and rules over God's restored flock. Clearly, this conflated citation has been formed from passages of Scripture that explicitly contain the Shepherd-King motif.

The three criteria have established the character of Matthew 2:6 as an explicit example of Matthew's use of the Shepherd-King Messianic tradition. In the next section the actual composite quotation will be examined in detail.

3.2 The Composite Quotation in Matthew 2:6

Matthew 2:6 represents, by all accounts, a composite quotation of Micah 5:1(2) and 2 Samuel 5:2. What is more, so different is Matthew's version from the extant text-forms that Davies and Allison have suggested: "The differences are in fact sufficient to tempt one to speak of an 'interpretation' instead of a 'quotation' of Scripture".[24] The question this section tackles is: What does the composite quotation contribute to the pericope and ultimately one's understanding of Matthew's use of the motif of the Shepherd-King?

The investigation of this composite citation will proceed in three steps. First, an inquiry into the text-form of the citation will be conducted in order to isolate the differences between Matthew's version of the citation and other extant text-types. Once isolated an appropriate explanation for the differences will be sought. Alongside the exploration of the text-form, the function of the quotation in its immediate and broad context will be considered.[25] A final step will be to consider the usage of the text(s) within other ancient Jewish sources in order to determine the extent to which Matthew drew on these ideas and incorporated them into his presentation of Jesus.

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24   Davies and Allison 1988:242.
25   The bi-referential nature of Matthean Formula citations is discussed and illustrated by Beaton 2002:120–21. He explains that the bi-referentiality of citations "validates the surface or narrative level, as well as recalling and/or presaging ideas concerning or ways of viewing Jesus' person and ministry within the boarder message of the Gospel".

Matthew 2:6	Naḥal Ḥever[a]	OG Micah 5:2; 2 Sam 5:2a	MT Micah 5:1; 2 Sam 5:2a	Targum Micah 5:1
καὶ σύ	και συ	καὶ σύ	וְאַתָּה	וְאַתְּ
Βηθλέεμ,		Βηθλεεμ,	בֵּית־לֶחֶם	בֵּית לֶחֶם
γῆ Ἰούδα	οικο[ς ......Ε]φραθα,	οἶκος τοῦ Εφραθα	אֶפְרָתָה	אֶפְרָת
οὐδαμῶς ἐλαχίστη εἶ	ολι[γ]οστος του [ε]ιναι	ὀλιγοστὸς εἶ τοῦ εἶναι	צָעִיר לִהְיוֹת	זְעֵיר דַהֲוֵיתָא לְאִתְמַנָאָה
ἐν τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν Ἰούδα	εν χ[ιλιασιν Ιο]υδα	ἐν χιλιάσιν Ιουδα	בְּאַלְפֵי יְהוּדָה	בְּאַלְפַיָּא דְבֵית יְהוּדָה
ἐκ σοῦ γὰρ ἐξελεύσεται ἡγούμενος	εκ σου μοι εξ[ελευσε]ται	ἐκ σοῦ μοι ἐξελεύσεται	מִמְּךָ לִי יֵצֵא	מִנָּךְ קֳדָמַי יִפּוֹק מְשִׁיחָא
	του ε[ι]ναι αρχ[ο]ντα	τοῦ εἶναι εἰς ἄρχοντα	לִהְיוֹת מוֹשֵׁל	לְמֶהֱוֵי עָבֵיד שׁוּלְטָן
	εν τω Ι[σραηλ	ἐν τῷ Ισραηλ	בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל	עַל יִשְׂרָאֵל
	και αι] εξοδου αυτου	καὶ αἱ ἔξοδοι αὐτοῦ	וּמוֹצָאֹתָיו	דִּשְׁמֵיהּ אֲמִיר
	απ' α[ρ]χης	ἀπ' ἀρχῆς	מִקֶּדֶם	מִלְּקַדְמִין
	αφ' ημ[ε]ρων αιωνος]	ἐξ ἡμερῶν αἰῶνος	מִימֵי עוֹלָם	מִיּוֹמֵי עָלְמָא
ὅστις ποιμανεῖ τὸν λαόν μου τόν Ἰσραήλ.		σὺ ποιμανεῖς τὸν λαόν μου τὸν Ισραηλ	אַתָּה תִרְעֶה אֶת־עַמִּי אֶת־יִשְׂרָאֵל	

And you, Bethlehem, in the land of Judah, are by no means least among the rulers of Judah; for from you shall come a ruler	And you, hous[e …E]phrathah, are few in number to be among the thousands of Judah; out of you shall one shall come forth to me, to be a ruler of Israel; and his goings forth were from the beginning, from eternity.	And you, Bethlehem, house of Ephrathah, are few in number to be among the thousands of Judah; out of you shall one come forth to me, to be a ruler of Israel; and his goings forth from the beginning, from eternity.	But you, O Bethlehem Ephrathah, who are too little to be among the clans of Judah, from you shall come forth for me one who is to be ruler in Israel, whose origin is from old, from ancient days.	And you, O Bethlehem Ephrathah, you who were too small to be numbered among the thousands of the house of Judah, from you shall come forth before me the anointed One, to exercise dominion over Israel, he whose name was mentioned from of old, from ancient times.
who is to shepherd my people Israel		you will shepherd my people Israel	you will shepherd my people Israel	

a   For the printed text of the Naḥal Ḥever cf. Tov, Kraft, and Parsons 1990.
b   Lust (Lust 1997:76–77) suggests that τον αρτου is the most likely option to fill in the lacuna. He argues that this restored reading would be in agreement with the scroll's tendency to bring the text closer to MT.

Table 1. Text-Form Comparison: Matthew 2:6

3.2.1 Matthew's Text-Form

Careful consideration of Table 1 above confirms Davies and Allison's opinion: Matthew's version is remarkably different from any extant text-form.[26] Notice should be taken of the underlined portions of the text, which highlight the well-known deviations from the MT. Admittedly, it is possible that Matthew's citation depends on a now-lost text-type, given what we know of the fluidity of the text in the early first century.[27] Moreover, it is also possible that the differences in Matthew's version are due to early Christian influences, such as *Testimonia*.[28] While neither of these possibilities can be immediately dismissed, they seem to be less likely when careful attention is paid to the differences. The investigation into the question of text-form will, first, isolate the significant textual differences observable in Matthew's version and attempt to explain them. Secondly, the function of Matthew's peculiar text-form in the immediate and broader contexts will be considered.

Although E. Lohmeyer notes seven divergences from the OG and MT, only those that are of immediate relevance to our question will be considered in detail.[29] First, Matthew substitutes γῆ Ἰούδα for the MT's אֶפְרָתָה and the Septuagint's οἶκος τοῦ Εφραθα. This change is unprecedented in the textual tradition and has no textual antecedents.[30] Secondly, he inserts the marker of emphatic negation οὐδαμῶς ("by no means") into the context. This change is

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26 Davies and Allison 1988:242; Hagner 1993:29; Stendahl 1968:99.
27 Cf. likewise Beaton 2002:52–56; Gundry 1967:91. Since the discoveries of the Dead Sea Scrolls, the area of biblical textual criticism has been "revolutionized." (Tov 1998:277). In the wake of the discoveries, it is recognised that the Hebrew Bible text was fluid and pluriform in the last three centuries B.C. and the first century A.D. Current scholarship agrees that the pre-1947 heuristic three-fold division – Proto-Masoretic, Proto-Samaritan and the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the Septuagint text-types or recensions – no longer accurately accounts for the diversity of textual data and, in fact, is anachronistic. Emanuel Tov, (2001:114–17) has identified at least 5 different categories of textual-witnesses from the DSS documents: (1) texts written in Qumran practice; (2) proto-Masoretic texts; (3) pre-Samaritan texts; (4) texts close to the presumed Hebrew source of the LXX; and (5) non-aligned texts. He argues that the proto-MT, pre-SP and the source of the LXX are three textual witnesses which "constitute only three of a large number of texts" (160). Nevertheless, Tov (2001:63) has argued that the textual evidence, while revealing pluriformity of text-witnesses, also reveals a uniformity of texts related to a type of proto-Masoretic text. He states, "Thus while textual variety is clearly visible in the Qumran finds, beyond that variety one discerns the existence of a single textual family which probably reflected the standard text of the Pharisees". Tov believes that some 60 percent of the text-witnesses found at Qumran reflect this proto-Masoretic text (2001:63). For an alternative text-form theory see Ulrich 1992, 1998.
28 See Dodd's (1952) foundational work on early Christian testimonies. As is well-known, he asserted that the wider contexts of scriptural passages cited by NT authors should also be regarded as *Testimonia*, and that the NT authors had entire "plots" in mind when they cited single texts. See recently Albl (1999), who has confirmed the hypothesis of *Testimonia* with valuable development of previous research such as Harris 1916, Dodd 1952, and Lindars 1961.
29 Lohmeyer and Schmauch 1956:23.
30 See similarly Menken 2004:256.

perhaps the most dramatic of the Matthean alterations since it renders the meaning of the citation to be the converse of the Hebrew and Jewish Greek Scriptures.[31] Some scholars have suggested that a variant text-form may have existed which contained the phrase לאהיית instead of להיות,[32] but evidence for this text-form is lacking.[33]

A third notable difference between Matthew's version of Micah and other text-forms is his rendering ἐν τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν for the Hebrew בְּאַלְפֵי יְהוּדָה. He neither follows the MT nor the LXX in his translation. Based on the MT's vocalization (אַלְפֵי) and the immediate context of Micah, the consonants signify the term "clans" or "tribes".[34] What is more, the Targum bears witness to the MT's text-form with the rendering באלפיא דבית יהודה. In contrast, the LXX renders the phrase with ἐν χιλιάσιν Ιουδα. Matthew does something completely different from these by substituting אַלֻּפֵי ("tribal chief" or "captain") for אַלְפֵי.[35]

Fourthly, Matthew replaces the Hebrew מִמְּךָ לִי יֵצֵא לִהְיוֹת מוֹשֵׁל בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל with ἐκ σοῦ γὰρ ἐξελεύσεται ἡγούμενος in 2:6a. Lust seems correct to assert that the insertion of the participle ἡγούμενος solves the inherent problem in the MT text of a missing nominal subject for the verb יצא.[36] The Targum's solution is to add the term משיחא, thereby giving this text a much more explicit Messianic significance.[37] Beyond this grammatical observation, however, is the much more important fact that ἡγούμενος foreshadows the 2 Samuel 5:2a citation that comes at the end of this composite quotation and, hence, supplies an even more emphatic Davidic theme.[38]

Now that the significant differences have been enumerated, an explanation will be sought which best explains Matthew's peculiar text-form. If it is indeed the case that these changes cannot be adequately explained by an appeal to a variant text-form, or to *Testimonia* or merely to a pre-Matthean source,[39] then is there an explanation that can account for Matthew's departure from the known text-forms of Micah available to him? Moreover, if one could provide an adequate explanation of the differences contained in Matthew's version of

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31   Menken (2004:257) suggests the possibility that this modification is "a wilful distortion of the biblical text by chief priests and scribes"; a view put forth by Jerome.
32   Gundry 1967:92; Lohmeyer and Schmauch 1956:23; cf. also the most recent advocate of this view Soares Prabhu 1976:264.
33   Cf. also Lust 1997:78.
34   See Koehler and Baumgartner 1995:59–60; cf. likewise Menken 2004:258.
35   See Koehler and Baumgartner 1995:59–60; for a similar analysis see also Gundry 1967:92; Lust 1997:78; Menken 2004:258; Rothfuchs 1969:61; Soares Prabhu 1976:264; Stendahl 1968:100.
36   Cf. Lust 1997:78.
37   Cf. Gundry 1967:92–93; Lust 1997:78.
38   See likewise Menken 2004:259.
39   Menken (2004:263) believes that the quotation comes from traditional materials used by Matthew and only reveals slight redactional touches. While I would agree that a good case can be made for a pre-Matthean traditional kernel here, alternations of wording in the quotation suggest some redaction; see below.

Micah, is it possible to explain how this contributes to our understanding of
both the function of the quotation in Matthew's context as well as his use of
the Shepherd-King motif? It is to these two questions that we now turn.

H. Heater has argued that Matthew 2:6 is a "cumulative exegesis" of Ge-
nesis 49:10, 2 Samuel 5:2 and Micah 5:2.[40] In his very short three-page article,
Heater attempted to show that scribes in Matthew's story brought together the
teaching of these three passages.[41] This argument seems useful given the that
linguistic and thematic connections between Genesis 49:10, 2 Samuel 5:2 and
Micah 5:2 suggest inner-biblical exegesis. Building on Heater's work, Chae
recently pointed to the possibility that the unprecedented substitution of γῆ
Ἰούδα derives from Genesis 49:10 (οὐκ ἐκλείψει ἄρχων ἐξ Ιουδα καὶ
ἡγούμενος ἐκ τῶν μηρῶν αὐτοῦ ἕως ἂν ἔλθῃ τὰ ἀποκείμενα αὐτῷ καὶ
αὐτὸς προσδοκία ἐθνῶν).[42]

While Soares Prabhu is correct to point out that Ἰούδα in Matthew 2:6a
anticipates the Ἰούδα in the following line in the phrase τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν
Ἰούδα,[43] it will be shown that its presence is not purely the result of stylistic
considerations. Further, although it is true that Ἰουδαία is mentioned in Mat-
thew 2:1, 5, and could explain why Matthew chose to add it here, R. Gundry is
right to point out that here the term used in 2:6 is not Ἰουδαία as in verse one
and five, but Ἰούδα.[44] This distinction at the very least calls into question
some simplistic explanation that suggests Matthew substituted γῆ Ἰούδα for
verbal consistency.

What is more, the explanation that bases the substitution on a theory that
Matthew wished to "contemporize" the antique אֶפְרָתָה is unconvincing.[45] This
is especially the case in view of the fact that the only evidence offered to sup-
port this is a dubious reference to work of I. L. Seeligmann on LXX-Isaiah.[46]
Even if Seeligmann's work on this point was secure in his study of LXX-
Isaiah, an appeal to it to support a claim about Matthew is unwarranted, not
least because the translation technique observed in LXX-Isaiah cannot be as-
sumed for other translators.[47] Furthermore, Matthew does not at all seem
averse, if it suits his interests, to include antiquated place names as Matthew
4:14–15 illustrates. Not to be overlooked either in the discussion of γῆ Ἰούδα
is the import of the term γῆ for Matthew (compare Matthew's 43 uses with
Mark's 19 and Luke's 25).[48] The term is used in a wide variety of ways in

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40   Heater 1983; cf. also Chae 2004:260–70.
41   Heater 1983:397.
42   Chae 2004:262.
43   Soares Prabhu 1976:262; see similarly Davies and Allison 1988:242.
44   Gundry 1994:29.
45   Cf. Gundry 1967:91; Lust 1997:77; Stendahl 1968:100.
46   Cf. Seeligmann 1948:80.
47   See Mclay 2003:45.
48   See Menken 2004:257.

Matthew, but at least seven out of the 43 times it is used to designate part or all of *Eretz* Israel.[49]

This propensity on the part of Matthew for the term γῆ coupled with the territorial reference γῆ Ἰούδα seems to mitigate against the idea that Matthew every word of the quotation "belonged to traditional materials used by Matthew".[50]

Chae has recently offered an explanation for Matthew's unusual text-form that focuses on the Hebrew word מוֹשֵׁל in Micah 5:1[2].[51] He avows that Matthew under the influence of Genesis 49:10 has inserted ἡγούμενος for מוֹשֵׁל in the first half of the verse and also has rendered מוֹשֵׁל with ὅστις ποιμανεῖ in light of Micah 5:4's influence. With respect to the first move, Chae reasons that the LXX's rendering of ἡγούμενος for מחקק ("lawgiver/ruler's staff") has directed Matthew given that "the metaphor for feet represents the negligible or small parts of the body, i.e. Judah".[52] This perspective would fit Matthew's context well, according to Chae. With respect to the latter change, Chae suggests this based on being "the one who is 'to rule over Israel [and even the nations]' as the Evangelist picks up this [Davidic] shepherd motif in Mic 5:4".[53] Furthermore, Chae attempts to posit a distinction at work in the context between the two terms. He argues that "the phrase ὅστις ποιμανεῖ in Matthew 2:6 as the Evangelist's rendition of מוֹשֵׁל emphasizes the representative authority of Jesus as the Shepherd-Appointee at the *eschaton*, while the designation ἡγούμενος stresses Jesus' leadership as the Shepherd particularly in his relationship with the people".[54]

Chae's hypothesis does have merits. First, he affirms the conclusion that the substitution of γῆ Ἰούδα is evidence of Matthew's own hand. Furthermore, the explanation for the presence of the term ἡγούμενος deriving from Genesis 49:10 would enhance the Davidic Messianism of the Matthew's text as he states: "Matthew's choice of ὅστις ποιμανεῖ and ἡγούμενος for the OT expectation of the Davidic ruler in Mic 5:1–4 ... affirms the age-old yet persistent, vibrant Davidic expectation".[55]. Yet, Chae does not satisfactorily explore the significance of the territorial designation γῆ Ἰούδα and the unprecedented ἐν τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν Ἰούδα.

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49 Γῆ refers to: (1) ground, soil, dirt, non-sea area (10x): Matt 10:29; 12:40; 13:5, 8, 23; 14:24; 15:35; 25:18, 25; 27:51; (2) region or area (3 to 4x): Matt 9:26, 31; 14:34; 27:45(?); (3) city or town (2x): Matt 10:15; 11:24; (3) idiom – "heaven and earth" (10x): Matt 5:8; 5:35; 6:10; 11:25; 16:19; 18:18, 19; 23:9; 24:35; 28:18; (4) earth (4x): Matt 6:19; 9:6; 12:42; 17:25; and (5) *Eretz* Israel (7 to 9x): Matt 2:6; 2:20, 21; 4:15; 5:5, 13; 10:34(?); 23:35; 24:30(?). For more on the importance of Land in Matthew see ch. 6 below.
50 Menken 2004:263.
51 Chae 2004:260–70.
52 Chae 2004:262.
53 Chae 2004:264.
54 Chae 2004:269.
55 Chae 2004:270.

3.2.2 The Function of the Citation

First, as we will see in the further unfolding of the argument, the substitution of γῆ Ἰούδα for Ephrathah may imply not merely a contemporizing of an antiquated place name, but surprisingly the traditional Jewish eschatological hope for territorial restoration (see ch. 6 for further discussion of this theme). Further, Gundry is correct to highlight the importance of the term γῆ for Matthew.[56] However, given Matthew's use of γῆ in the Gospel (cf. e.g. Matt 4:12–16),[57] it seems quite unlikely that its presence here is simply due to a "typically Jewish land-consciousness", as Gundry suggests. Instead, γῆ Ἰούδα perhaps functions to enhance the territorial aspects of the eschatological expectation. The Matthean interest in the Promised Land, a topic discussed in chapter 6, and the Deuteronomic framework of chapters 1 and 2 discussed above further supports this line of thinking.

If the territorial aspect of the quotation is being highlighted by the substitution, as I am suggesting, then the eschatological hope of territorial restoration could stand in the background of this composite quotation. This conviction, then, could also shed light on the oft noted converse translation of Micah 5:1 in Matthew 2:6. Read this way, Bethlehem, personified as one of the tribal leaders of the *land* of the tribe of Judah, would be the vanguard of Israel's territorial rescue – because from this place the Messiah, the leader *par excellence*, has arisen.[58]

The Matthean phrase τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν Ἰούδα in Matthew 2:6 reflects the chapter's concern for the political power of Israel. As was pointed out above, in the near context, Jesus as Israel's ruler and shepherd is contrasted with Herod and the Jerusalem political elite.[59] More broadly, however, Gundry makes an astute observation that ἡγεμών is also used of Pilate in the Passion Narrative, where he interjects the designation for Pilate eight times. Gundry asserts, "By using the same word in his quotation of Mic 5:1, the evangelist makes Jesus Pilate's superior, too, the true governor of Judah".[60]

In describing Pilate as a "governor" in 27:2, Matthew contrasts Jesus' identity with the Roman ruler's. W. Carter exposes this as a contrast between Jesus' Empire and that of the Roman Emperor (an Empire whom Pilate represents). He writes, "Jesus the ruler appears before Pilate the governor as a continuation of the confrontation between two Empires – Rome's and God's – that

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56 Cf. Gundry 1994:29; see also Davies and Allison 1988:242 who note that in Matthew the term in ch. 2 always refers to Palestine: 2:2, 6, 20, 21.
57 See discussion in both chs. 6 and 7 below.
58 See also Gundry 1994:29 for discussion of the converse translation; for a detailed analysis of the phenomenon of "converse translation" in the Targum and other ancient versions see Gordon 1999.
59 Cf. also Carter 2000:79.
60 Gundry 1994:29 cf. also Carter 2001:159.

has been under way throughout the Gospel".[61] Thus, from beginning to end the Gospel of Matthew contrasts Jesus' government with the present leadership of Israel which, at the present, are simply puppets of Rome.

Before discussing the early Jewish usage of the Scripture passages in the composite quotation, a final comment should be offered concerning the replacement of the last line of Micah 5:1 with 2 Samuel 5:2a. What possessed Matthew to substitute 2 Samuel 5:2a for Micah 5:1b and what is its significance? W. Rothfuchs suggests the answer is to be found in what Matthew has gained from 2 Samuel 5:2a that he could not get from Micah 5:1–3. He argues that Matthew found the phrase τὸν λαόν μου: "warum sein Schluß nach 2 S 5,2 gegeben wird, obwohl auch die Micha-Stelle die Wörter ποιμαίνειν und Ἰσραήλ bietet. Die Antwort kann nur in dem über Mi 5,1ff hinausgehenden τὸν λαόν μου liegen".[62] Rothfuchs sees the phrase in relationship to 1:21, "he shall save his people from their sins". For him, this relationship signals that Matthew's interest lies beyond a simple incidental fact of history, namely, where Jesus was born. Instead, with the fulfilment quotation Matthew uses the incidental fact of history to speak about the "people of Jesus", *das Volk Jesu*, who have been forgiven of sin. This group, according to Rothfuchs, goes beyond Israel.[63]

While Rothfuchs is certainly correct to stress the relationship between 2:6 and 1:21 through the phrase τὸν λαόν μου, both his interpretation of the phrase's significance and his view that it alone is the reason for Matthew's use of 2 Samuel 5:2a are disputable claims. First, it is not so clear that with 1:21 Matthew intends to refer to a new group of people consisting of both Gentiles and Jews as this line of thinking suggests.[64] To the contrary, this view is not sustainable within the context of the first chapter of Matthew as J. R. Cousland has shown.[65] What is more, Cousland argues that the "dominant interpretation of λαός in Matthew's Gospel is an ethnic one. The 'people' in Matthew are, explicitly or implicitly, Israelites ... Matthew's λαός refers to the people of Israel, even if it does not always denote the people as a whole".[66]

Coupled with this Israel-centric term, Carter has highlighted the political connotations of the statement. He makes a compelling argument that the clause

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61   Carter 2001:159.
62   Rothfuchs 1969:61; cf. likewise Menken 2004:260.
63   See Rothfuchs (1969:61) who writes: "Dadurch aber rückt Mt 2,6 über ein nur 'historisches' Verständnis hinaus in eine nahe Verwandtschaft mit Mt 1,21. Gewiß ist λαός die Bezeichnung für Israel, dh die Juden. Aber der Evangelist bleibt bei diesem Verständnis nicht stehen. Es handelt sich hier um das Volk, das Gott in diesem Jesus rettet, indem Jesus es von seinen Sünden befreit (1,21), der sein von Gott bestellter Herrscher ist, sein ποιμήν (2,6), und ganz bestimmten Teilen dieses Volkes begegnet (4,14ff)".
64   Cf. also the critique of Soares Prabhu 1976:266.
65   Cousland 2001:84–85; cf. also Beaton 2002:107–08.
66   Cousland 2001:85; cf. similarly Repschinski 2006:255–56.

"to save his people from their sins" carries a "very material and political" con-
notation:

> Matthew's vision of salvation reveals the world to be sinful, under imperial power
> and controlled by Satan ... The Gospel envisions salvation as the end of this sinful
> world, the defeat of Rome, and the establishment of a new heaven and earth under
> God's sovereignty.[67]

While his thesis is not without weaknesses, not least an overstated emphasis on
the role of Imperial Rome in the Gospel, he is nevertheless on to something
when he critiques the common view that only "religious and moral" sins are
denoted in the clause: "The sinfulness is simultaneously political, economic,
social, religious, and moral".[68]

Secondly, although this point will carry weight only after the argument of
Part 2 has been fully developed, Matthew has a keen interest in portraying Je-
sus as the Messianic Shepherd-King. While shepherding imagery was present
in Micah 5:3, Matthew substitutes the very concise clause of 2 Samuel 5:2a,
thereby heightening the Davidic connotations of the composite quotation. With
this substitution, what stands out to an informed reader is the implication of the
Davidic covenant's realisation: Jesus is the Messiah, son of David (cf. Matt
1:1). He is the long awaited Shepherd-King of Israel.[69]

The investigation of the text-form of Matthew's quotation in 2:6 has led to
the significant observation that Matthew has conflated at three biblical texts
into one seamless quotation in order to support, at a literary level, the claim
that Jesus' birth place was Bethlehem of Judea.[70] This immediate contextual
purpose, however, is only half the story. The quotation seems also to serve a
broader Christological purpose for Matthew.[71] The links with Genesis 49:10,
Micah 5:2 and 2 Samuel 5:2 as well as the Deuteronomic framework of chap-
ters 1 and 2 appear to elucidate the royal and geopolitical emphases of the cita-
tion and the Shepherd-King motif. In this reading, Matthew's Shepherd-King
is the promised Messiah, the Davidide, who arises from the city of Bethlehem
in the *territory of Judah*, delivers Israel from her enemies and rules over a

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67   Carter 2000:75–90, esp. 89.
68   Carter 2000:79; see similarly Beaton 2002:96; Repschinski 2006:256. In a footnote in ch. 5
     below, I discuss the recent work of Hamilton (2005) on the theme of "innocent blood" in
     Matthew. If her argument has weight, which I think it does, the "sins" refer to the pollution of
     both the people and the Land because of the shedding of innocent blood. This pollution re-
     quires purgation. Her argument further supports the national implications of the idea of "sin"
     espoused here.
69   Cf. also Soares Prabhu (1976:266) who writes, "Matthew has added 2 Sam 5,2 to Mic 5,1 not
     because it speaks about ὁ λαός but because it is a text about David, and so explicitly identi-
     fies Jesus as the 'Son of David' in whom the promises made to David are to be fulfilled".
70   Cf. also Soares Prabhu 1976:276
71   See Beaton (2002:103) who suggests that 2:6b, like 4:16, "endow[s] a profound element to
     the narrative"; cf. also Beaton 2002:103, n. 71.

united kingdom of Israel. Accordingly, Matthew's Shepherd-King would not be far removed from the *Psalm of Solomon* conception we considered in chapter 2.

3.2.3 Ancient Jewish Usage

There is no extant evidence that Micah 5:1 was alluded to or quoted in ancient Judaism.[72] Yet we observed above that Targum Micah 5:1 attached Messianic import to the quotation.[73] When considering the import of this Messianic reference, Targum Micah 4:8 should also be considered, since it is the other place in Targum Micah that the term משיח is inserted. Notice that the Targum is an expansion of the MT (see Table 2 on next page):

　　While it is not possible to consider in detail the ways in which the Targum has expanded on the MT, it is important to observe that the Targumist has a discernable "nationalism"[74] in his emphasis on מלכותא ("kingdom") and שולטנא ("dominion"). At the advent of the Messiah, according to the Targumist, the *physical Empire* of David will be restored.[75] Thus, in at least some quarters of Judaism in the late first and second centuries, people read the context of Micah 5:1 nationalistically and the text gave voice to a very political, eschatological expectation.[76]

72　Cf. also Lust 1997:73.
73　The Targum to the Minor Prophets took shape most likely not later than the Bar-Kochba rebellion (135 A.D.); see Cathcart and Gordon 1989:12–18. The Messianic interest of the present passage seems to validate this conclusion. J. Neusner (1984) has argued that after the second century A.D., in light of the failed Bar-Kochba revolt, the rabbinic schools had no interest in Messianic expectations. Summarising Neusner, Freyne (2000:230) states, "It was only much later, in the fourth and fifth centuries C.E. that the redactors of the Palestinian Talmud felt free to reintroduce this figure, now transformed, however, into their own image and likeness". Methodologically, let me be clear that I am not claiming that Matthew depended in a direct way on the Targum's interpretations. The Targum to the Minor Prophets' interpretations referenced in this thesis, though, can be reasonably dated to the first-century A.D., and therefore can at least serve as corroborating evidence for Matthew.
74　Cathcart and Gordon 1989:9.
75　Cf. also Levey 1974:92.
76　A Messianic reading was also given in *Tg*. Gen 49:10 in both Neofiti and Onkelos. Neofiti, for example, inserts עד זמן דייתי מלכא משיחא דדידיה היא מלכותא; also in the Commentary on Genesis A (4Q252 1.v.1–6) on Gen 49:10. For the latter see discussion in Flint 2000.

MT	Targum
וְאַתָּה מִגְדַּל־עֵדֶר עֹפֶל בַּת־צִיּוֹן עָדֶיךָ תֵּאתֶה וּבָאָה הַמֶּמְשָׁלָה הָרִאשֹׁנָה מַמְלֶכֶת לְבַת־יְרוּשָׁלָ͏ִם	ואת משיחא דישראל דטמיר מן קדם חובי כנשתא דציון לך עתידא מלכותא למיתי וייתי שולטנא קדמאה למלכות כנשתא דירושלם
And you, O Tower of the flock, hill of the daughter of Zion, to you shall it come, the former dominion shall come, kingship for the daughter of Jerusalem.	And you, O anointed One of Israel, who have been hidden away because of the sins of the congregation of Zion, the kingdom shall come to you, and the former dominion shall be restored to the kingdom of the congregation of Jerusalem.

Table 2. Micah 4:8

Some evidence can also be gathered on the reuse of 2 Samuel 5:2 in Jewish literature. One possible, although unlikely, reference to 2 Samuel 5:2 is in 1 Maccabees 14:41:

> The Jews and their priests have resolved that Simon should be their leader and high priest forever until a trustworthy prophet should arise.

Here scholars have compared Simon's installation as ruler and high priest over Israel to that of David in 2 Samuel 5:1–3.[77] According to some, there is a faint echo of the elder's request to have David rule over them in the proclamation of Simon's rule. Perhaps strengthening this claim are two observations. First, the term ἡγούμενον is used, which as we noted above is used in LXX 2 Samuel 5:2 and in Matthew 2:6. Some have also suggested, in view of the depiction of Simon's rule in 14:4–5, Messianic overtones in the description of Simon's reign, since there is a perceived allusion to the conditions under the Solomonic regime.[78] These two observations, however, do not provide enough of a direct link between 2 Samuel 5:2 and 1 Maccabees 14:41 to warrant the conclusion of the presence of the former in the latter. What is more, according to Pomykala, the claim of the presence of Messianic overtones is misguided since "kingship is not prominent in 1 Maccabees; rather, special attention is given to legitimizing the Hasmoneans in the office of high priest, the locus of real power and authority".[79]

A more promising instance of the use of 2 Samuel 5:2 in early Jewish literature is the Qumran text 4Q*DibHama* that was considered in chapter 2. Since it was discussed in detail there, it is only necessary to point out the fact that 2 Samuel 5:2 was used in depicting David "as a princely shepherd over your

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[77]   Cf. Arenhoevel 1963:262; cf. also Pomykala 1995:157.
[78]   Cf. Attridge 1984:175; Goldstein 1987:77; Nickelsburg 1981:117; cf. also Pomykala 1995: 157.
[79]   Pomykala 1995:158.

[YHWH's] people" (כרעי נגיד על עמכה). Further, given that this text was used in the context of worship, whether or not the authorial intent was to promote a Messianic hope is unimportant. As was argued in chapter 2, it is clear from several other Qumran texts that there existed a strong Davidic Messianic hope in at least some stage(s) in the history of the community,[80] and it seems quite likely then that some members would have read 4Q*DibHama* Messianically.

While not much evidence can be found of the reuse of Micah 5:1 or 2 Samuel 5:2 in ancient Jewish literature, there is at least enough information to render a cautious conclusion. The evidence suggests that Micah 5:1 and 2 Samuel 5:2 were read in Messianic eschatological contexts. And at least one of these contexts infuses the citation with nationalistic and political connotations about the restoration of the Empire of Israel to at least its Davidic proportions.[81]

3.3 The Synoptic Parallel to Matthew 2:1–6

One might wonder why a discussion of synoptic parallels is even included in a discussion of a text that has no parallel. A discussion is required at least in part because of Gundry's contention that 2:1–12 represents a Matthean redaction of Luke 2:1–20, the story of the shepherds.[82] While this assertion is at the very least highly speculative,[83] it is enlightening to compare the two pericopae for the peculiar uses of shepherd language by the respective evangelists. Such a comparison allows us to better appreciate Matthew's unique exploitation of the Shepherd-King motif.

What becomes apparent from this comparison is Matthew's exclusive metaphorical/theological use of the shepherd imagery to address issues of leadership. In contrast to Luke, Matthew makes extensive use of shepherd language and never in a secular or literal sense. Perhaps this is one reason Matthew did not include the tradition recorded in Luke 2, if indeed he was aware of it. Even in a passage like Matthew 12:9–14, which at first sight might seem to contradict this claim, the shepherd language relates to issues of good or bad Jewish leadership.

Luke uses shepherding language only very little and in both a literal (2:8–20) and metaphorical (15:3–7//Matt 18:10–14) manner. Scholars agree that Luke focuses his attention on the shepherds in the birth narrative because they

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80 Cf. 4QpGenᵃ (4Q422), 4QFlor (4Q174), 4QpIsaᵃ (4Q161), 4QMessianic Apocalypse (4Q521), and 4QSefer ha-milḥama (4Q285).

81 See Cathcart and Gordon (1989:9) who note the presence of a "land theology" in the Targum, which "holds out to Israel the promise of greatly extended borders when the biblical prophecies of the future have been fulfilled"; for more see ch. 6 below.

82 Gundry 1994:26.

83 See Hagner's (1993:26) critique of Gundry.

are representative of "peasants, located toward the bottom of the scale of power and privilege".[84] Luke's interest in 2:8–20 is to show that the announcement of the birth of the Messiah came not to the elite and upper classes of society, but to lowly and marginalised shepherds.[85] J. B. Green states: "Good news comes to peasants, not to rulers; the lowly are lifted up".[86] Significantly the function of the shepherd motif in Matthew is the opposite, as we have seen from Matthew 2:1–6. In Matthew's Gospel, the news of the birth of the Messiah comes first to the political elite through the agency of the Magi.

In addition, the metaphorical use of shepherding language occurs in the Parable of the Lost Sheep in Luke 15:3–6//Matthew 18:10–14. Here the "shepherd" who leaves the ninety-nine and goes after the one seems to be YHWH himself.[87] In this way, the focus is theological rather than Christological or Messianic, although some have suggested the possibility of seeing Christology here as well.[88]

The occasions where Luke omits shepherd language that is present in his Markan source are telling. One example of this is the omission of the memorable "sheep without a shepherd" phrase in Mark 6:34//Matthew 9:36. An even weightier case is Luke's omission of the Zechariah 13:7 prophecy in Mark 14:27//Matthew 26:31. This is all the more profound when one considers how much material the synoptic writers share in common in the Passion Narrative.

A comparison of Luke and Matthew's use of shepherd language reveals that Matthew, in contrast to Luke, has a special interest in using the shepherd language for his presentation of Jesus as the Messianic Shepherd-King, though the referent is not exclusively Davidic (e.g. Matt 18:10–14). This conclusion is readily seen in his possible omission of shepherd material that was common to him and Luke, in his inclusion of Markan material where shepherd language is used figuratively,[89] in the transformation of Markan shepherd material he inherited,[90] as well as his own unique material (e.g. 10:6; 15:24).

3.4 The Shepherd-King in Matthew 2:6

This study of Matthew 2:6 has revealed that the Shepherd-King motif is not only present it delivers real political freight. Furthermore, if what I have argued bears any weight, the political-territorial aspects of the Shepherd-King motif seem to have been intensified by Matthean redaction. These territorial

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84   Bock 1994:213–14.
85   Cf. Fitzmyer 1981:408; Green 1997:130–31.
86   Green 1997:575.
87   Cf. Bovon 2001:28; Green 1997:575; Nolland 1993:773.
88   Cf. Green 1997:575, n. 215.
89   E.g. Mark 6:34//Matt 9:36; Mark 14:27//Matt 26:31.
90   See ch. 5 of this study.

and political emphases sit comfortably both in the immediate and broader context of the Gospel and are reflective of other ancient Jewish usage, although the evidence is admittedly limited. In addition, Matthew's metaphorical/theological use of shepherd language, when compared with Luke, is unique in that it is primarily used for his presentation of Jesus as the Messianic Shepherd-King.

The Shepherd-King motif is used by Matthew in 2:1–6 to introduce Jesus as the eschatological Davidide, the expected political leader of Israel, who will be shepherd over the restored united kingdom of Israel. Matthew conceives of the coming of the Messiah in concrete political and national terms. When Jesus is born, the Messianic Shepherd-King arrives; he is the one who will deliver Israel and re-establish the Davidic Empire.

Chapter Four

Sheep without a Shepherd-King
(Matthew 9:36)

"When he saw the crowds, he had compassion for them,
because they were harassed and helpless,
like sheep without a shepherd"
Matthew 9:36

4.1 The Shepherd-King Motif

The contextual limits of this passage will be briefly delineated before address-
ing the presence of the Shepherd-King motif. Matthew 9:35–38 serves as the
narrative preamble for the "Mission Discourse" (9:35–11:1).[1] The Mission
Discourse is significant to this thesis not only because it is the focus of this
chapter, but it is also the context for the first occurrence of "the lost sheep of
the house of Israel" phrase in Matthew 10:6. Consequently, in chapter 7 we
will return to this unit for a detailed examination of Matthew 10:6.

The Mission Discourse is the second of five well-organized teaching sec-
tions in the book of Matthew.[2] The structure of the discourse falls into three
main units: (1) a narrative preamble, which describes the occasion for the mis-
sion of the twelve (9:35–10:5a), (2) instructions to the Twelve, which delimit
the mission and depict the aggressive rejection and active reception of people
(10:5b–42); and (3) a narrative conclusion, which emphasizes the mission of
Jesus (11:1). Within the first unit, which is our concern here, the passage fur-
ther divides into two subunits: (1) Israel's predicament (9:35–38) and (2) Je-
sus' response (10:1–5a).[3]

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1   Park 1995:32–42.
2   See 5:1–7:29 (Sermon on the Mount); 9:35–11:1 (Mission Discourse); 13:1–53 (Discourse in
    Parables) 18:1–19:1 (Community Discourse); 24:1–26:5 (Eschatological Discourse). Of par-
    ticular note is the fixed formula found at the end of each of these teaching sections καὶ
    ἐγένετο ὅτε ἐτέλεσεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς (7:29; 11:1; 13:53; 19:1; and 26:1).
3   For different structural layouts see Cousland 2001:88–90; McKnight 1986:507; Park 1995:
    40–42.

Especially important to notice is the thematic unity of Matthew 9:35–10:5a.[4] In Matthew 9:35–38 the "crowds" (ὄχλους), to whom Jesus is ministering, are likened to "sheep without a shepherd". Jesus then states that the harvest – probably "the crowds" – is large and the workers are few.[5] The response to this state of affairs, according to Matthew, is the subsequent mission of the Twelve conducted with the Messianic authority of Jesus to the "lost sheep of the house of Israel" (10:6); thus, the disciples' mission is inextricably linked with the mission of Jesus (cf. 11:2–6; also 15:24).

In order to confirm the presence of the Shepherd-King motif, the three criteria outlined in the introduction will be applied to this pericope.[6] First, in the contextual sketch above, shepherding terminology was already noticed. In Matthew 9:36, the evangelist records that Jesus saw the crowds and "had compassion for them" because "they were harassed and helpless, *like sheep without a shepherd*" (ὡσεὶ πρόβατα μὴ ἔχοντα ποιμένα).

The political interest of the passage, which is the second of the three criteria, is apparent in two ways: the structure of Matthew's narrative and the appointment of the Twelve. The *inclusio* formed by the nearly identical verses 4:23 and 9:35 links the present pericope with the foundational description of the beginning of Jesus' Galilean ministry in 4:12–25.[7] This text will be handled in more detail later in chapter 7. Here it is necessary to state only that the unit of Matthew 4:12–19:1 is governed by the transitional statement in 4:12–17.[8] In this passage Matthew quotes from 8:23b–9:1 (MT) in order to ground the movement of Jesus from Nazareth to Capernaum. It might be recalled that Matthew recognises Capernaum as being in the region of the tribes of Zebulun and Naphtali. With this reference to the tribal territories it appears that Matthew wishes to emphasize Jesus' Messianic activity in the northern region of the Promised Land, therein conjuring up expectations of territorial restoration.[9]

Further, Matthew 9:35 is a hinge. On the one side, it rounds off the section, 4:24–9:34, where Matthew fleshed out the activities he described Jesus performing in Galilee in 4:23 and 9:35. On the other side, the identical word-

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4   Cf. similarly Cousland 2001:88–90.
5   Charette (1990:29–35, esp. 32–33) argues that the harvest imagery used here is not of harvesters going into the fields in order to bring some people to salvation; instead, with Hosea 6:11 as a point of departure, the imagery is to be understood as the sending of Messianic representatives to the people to bring *to them* the blessings of the Messianic age: "Matthew is not thinking in terms *of* a harvest of the people but rather in terms of a harvest *for* the people" (emphasis added); cf. likewise Schnabel 2002:307–09.
6   See introduction above for a detailed discussion of the three criteria.
7   Bonnard 1963:141–42; Davies and Allison 1988:411; Grundmann 1968:285; Lichtenberger 1997:269 make a similar observation.
8   See ch. 7 below for a more thorough discussion with Beaton 2002:104–06; see similarly Verseput 1994 who notes the importance of Matt 4:14–15 for Matthew's depiction of the Galilean ministry.
9   For much more on the structure of Matthew and his interest in the restoration of territorial Israel see both chs. 6–7 below.

ing of 9:35 links the following unit, 9:36–11:1, back to the pivotal section of 4:12–25. So, with 9:35, Matthew structurally connects his reader to the significance of Jesus' Galilean ministry, which he established in 4:12–17, and which will now be carried on by the Twelve. The macro-structure of the First Gospel, then, related as it is to the territorial restoration of Israel, suggests the possibility of a geopolitical significance for the present pericope.[10]

In addition to the structure of Matthew's narrative, the appointment of the Twelve signifies a political interest.[11] In view of the shepherdless condition of the people of Israel, envisaged collectively with the term ὄχλους[12] and the dearth of envoys, Jesus sent (ἀπέστειλεν) the Twelve to the "lost sheep of the house of Israel" (τὰ πρόβατα τὰ ἀπολωλότα οἴκου Ἰσραήλ) (10:6) as the answer to Israel's plight.[13]

Matthew has apparently omitted the "calling and choosing" story, which appear in Mark and Luke (Mark 3:13–19a; Luke 6:12–16), and instead has conjoined the introduction of the Twelve with their mission. Matthew's shaping of tradition renders the appointment of the Twelve *functional*: they are designated for a *particular purpose* in Jesus' kingdom program. Emphasizing this functional role is the designation τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων (10:2), which is used only here in Matthew. Although questions related to the appropriateness of using the term to describe a pre-resurrection situation, as Matthew does, continue to be debated, an *emissary role* seems to best fit the functional nature of the designation.[14] In Matthew's view, the Twelve are called τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων because they were sent by the Davidic King on the official duty of announcing the arrival of the Messianic Kingdom and dispensing the eschatological blessings of that kingdom.

In the Gospel as a whole, Matthew appears to characterise the Twelve's role in the new kingdom as a constitutional one. Their unique leadership role is visible not only here in their mission to Israel, but also in the Community Discourse of Matthew 18 and the so-called throne logion of Matthew 19:28 (cf. also Matt 20:20–21). In the former passage Matthew records Jesus delegating authority over the community in 16:23 and 18:18 to the Twelve. Citing the obvious community orientation of the passage, some have argued that this authority is not the sole propriety of the Twelve, but was given to the Commu-

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10   See more discussion of these points in ch. 7 below.
11   See McKnight (1986:iv) who argues that Matthew shaped and interpreted his traditions in order to show that the Pharisees, a political group in first-century Palestine, were replaced by the Twelve, as the new shepherds for Israel. Of the Mission Discourse he writes, "it was discovered again and again that Matt's discourse is to be seen in polemical terms and not just the broader context of missions" (1986:17).
12   Cousland 2001:90–91.
13   Cf. Charette 1990:30–31.
14   Cf. Charette 1990; Cousland 2001:89, n. 67. An interesting modern parallel is perhaps the Jewish Hasidic Messianic movement known as Chabad Lubavitch and their *Shluchim* (emissaries); cf. Fishkoff Aug 2000; Marcus 2001.

nity in a general sense.[15] A careful reading of the specific pericope (18:15–20), however, has led some to think that Jesus gave a *unique* authority to the Twelve to be exercised over the Community in his stead.[16]

Matthew 19:28 shares this perspective, stating:

> Jesus said to them, "Truly, I say to you, *in the new world* (ἐν τῇ παλιγγενεσίᾳ), when the Son of Man will sit on his glorious throne, you who have followed me will also sit on twelve thrones, *judging the twelve tribes of Israel* (κρίνοντες τὰς δώδεκα φυλὰς τοῦ Ἰσραήλ)".

In the Matthean context the logion is central to a discussion concerning the cost and reward of discipleship.[17] In response to Peter's query about the Twelve's future reward for the sacrifice of the present, Matthew's Jesus declares that in the future, ἐν τῇ παλιγγενεσίᾳ[18] they will be rewarded with governance over the twelve tribes of Israel.[19] Implicit in this statement is the political role of the Twelve in the future kingdom where they will be governors over the *reconstituted* twelve-tribe nation. This prediction of tribal oversight perhaps is modelled after the administration of the Davidic and Solomonic Empires (cf. 1 Chron 27:16–22; 1 Kings 7:19; Ezra 2:2; Neh 7:7). If this analysis is on the mark, Matthew's assumption about the Twelve's constitutional function in the Messianic Kingdom is in concert with the Messianic expectation of the restored tribal princes (or phylarchs) that was apparently in the air in the first century.[20] Matthew's placement of the introduction of the

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15   Cf. Jones (1953:884) who critiques this position by calling attention to the change from the singular to the plural in verses 17 and 18. He writes, "15–17 were addressed, in the singular, to any Christian; now our Lord addresses the Apostles ('you'; cf. 18:1), not members of the Church at large".

16   Cf. Freyne 1968:194–95; see also Martinez (1961) who has argued that οἱ μαθηταί subsequent to Matthew 10:1–4 refers *exclusively* to the Twelve. It must be admitted that Martinez has overstated his case in regard to Matthew 18, since there appears to be content within the Community Discourse that has a broader reference than the Twelve (i.e. 18:4–5; 6–9). Yet, the logion of 18:18 falls within a section on community discipline and within this context the reference is to the authority of the Twelve over the community. In addition, this authority within the community is hinted at in the Feeding stories (14:13–20; 15:32–39) where the Twelve are distributors of the meal to the people present. In the Feeding of the Five Thousand Jesus very pointedly tells them "you give them something to eat" (14:16) possibly implying their leadership responsibility over the community as its under-shepherds.

17   See parallel in Luke 22:30. Usually assigned to Q, although the nature of the logion is debated; see Davies and Allison 1997:55; Luz 1995:121 for discussions concerning the relationship between Matthew and Luke's use of the logion.

18   Carter's (2000:392) explanation of the phrase is assumed here. He understands the term to refer to "the new age and world, a new heaven and earth, both temporal and spatial (5:18; 24:35; cf. *1 En* 45:4–5; 91:16; *2 Bar* 44:12; 57:2), a new creation (1:1; 14:32; 19:4, 8), God's salvation and Empire, which ends the oppressive imperial world under the control of the devil (4:8), of Rome and its gods"; see also Büchsel 1964; Burnett 1983; Davies and Allison 1997:57; Sim 1993 for discussions of the unusual term παλιγγενεσία.

19   See Davies and Allison 1997:55–56 for a defence of the view which takes the term κρίνω here to mean "to rule" or "to govern" over a period of time and not a one-time judgement.

20   The political-constitutional importance of the twelve princes is clear in the LXX (e.g. Num 30:2; Deut 5:20 (23); 1 Chron 27:16; Ezra 6:17, 8:35), Eupolemus (see Eusebius, *praep. ev.*

disciples immediately preceding their mission, in conjunction with his interest in the constitutional significance of the Twelve, seems to reveal that the evangelist wished to stress the political role of the Twelve as an alternative to Israel's present leadership.[21]

In sum, the foregoing discussion shows that a political-national element is present in Matthew 9:36. This political component is perceived through both the structure of the narrative that emphasizes the territorial restoration of Israel and the introduction of the Twelve as emissaries and constitutional leaders of Israel. Consequently, the second constituent element of the Shepherd-King motif is present in the passage.

Having treated the first two criteria, the third condition (that of a quotation or allusion of Jewish Scripture) needs to be addressed. The final criterion, which requires the presence of at least a direct allusion to a prophetic Davidic Shepherd-King text, is indeed met with the phrase ὡσεὶ πρόβατα μὴ ἔχοντα ποιμένα. While it will become evident that it is a biblical phrase and one with a strong Davidic Shepherd-King nuance, whether it should be considered a direct allusion or citation is debated. Given its unmarked and widespread use (see below), Davies and Allison are correct to considered the expression an allusion.[22] This opinion is further grounded by Hagner's observation that Matthew's phrase does not agree exactly with the occurrences in the Jewish Scripture.[23] Thus, an exact place of origin in the Jewish Scriptures cannot be determined for careful textual comparison.[24]

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ix. 30:8), Qumran (4Q403 1 I:1, 10, 21, 26; 4Q400 3 II:2; 4QpIsad; 1QM II:1–3; 11QT 57:11–15) and the *T. 12 Patr.* (*T. Jud.* 25:1–2; *T. Benj.* 10:7). For a discussion of this passage in the context of the eschatological expectation surrounding the twelve phylarchs of Israel in the Second Temple period see Horbury 2003:157–88; see also the recent work of Roose 2004:30–93, esp. 57–77, 86. She argues that the throne logion could not have come from the mouth of Jesus, as Horbury argues, for two reasons. First, she believes it unthinkable that Jesus would then contradict himself in Mark 10:35–45. Second, she does not think that Jesus pursued a political *Machtrevolution*. Instead, Roose thinks that 19:28 was a later development of the tradition influenced by what she labels a *Wertrevolution*. This *Wertrevolution* was inspired by the belief among the early Christians of the present reality of the βασιλεία.

21   Cf. similarly McKnight 1986; Roose 2004:94.
22   See Davies and Allison 1988:36.
23   Hagner (1993:260) states: "The reference to 'sheep who have no shepherd' is a common OT image that occurs, for example, in Num 27:17; 2 Chr 18:16; and Jdt 11:19. All these passages agree verbatim: ὡς (Num 21:17, ὡσεὶ) πρόβατα οἷς οὐκ ἐστιν ποιμήν (cf. Zech 10:2); but none agrees exactly with Matthew's ὡσεὶ πρόβατα μὴ ἔχοντα ποιμένα".
24   See likewise Luz 2001:64; Menken (2004:205) labels this an "unmarked quotation" and is unable to determine from what source the phrase is taken.

4.2 The Direct Allusion in Matthew 9:36c

With the presence of the Shepherd-King motif reasonably secure we now turn to an investigation of the direct allusion in its Matthean context as well as its use in other ancient Jewish sources.[25]

4.2.1 Meaning and Function in Matthew

The structure of Matthew's narrative renders a negative verdict on the present leadership of Israel and exposes their incompetence and failure.[26] The juxtaposition of the Pharisees with Jesus, the Shepherd-King of Israel (2:6) and his Twelve reveals that Matthew uses the phrase to the same end that the prophets used the Shepherd-King motif.

As it was shown in chapter 2 of this study, the motif in its exilic and post-exilic prophetic setting communicates both despair and hope. Likewise, by means of the direct allusion to the scriptural phrase, the First Gospel on the one hand bemoans the condition of the people due to the failure of their leaders and on the other offers hope in the announcement of the arrival of the legitimate and YHWH-sanctioned rule of the Messiah.[27] This dual significance becomes clear when the phrase is placed in its biblical context.

The phrase and its image of Israel as a shepherdless flock (*hirtenlose Herde*) have a web of relationships that stretches across the whole of Scripture and culminates with the Davidic Messianic expectation.[28] The first attested use of the phrase is Numbers 27:17 in the story of Moses' appointment of Joshua. Here equivalent wording to the Matthean phrase is found in Hebrew form.[29] In the narrative, Moses petitions YHWH to appoint a person to succeed him so that Israel will not be כַּצֹּאן אֲשֶׁר אֵין־לָהֶם רֹעֶה. According to Moses' petition, the shepherdless condition would be the result of not having a leader "who shall go out before them and come in before them, who shall lead them out and bring them in". Thus, the phrase connotes the condition of the people because of the absence of a *royal military figure*, although this military nuance is only perhaps fully appreciated in light of 2 Samuel 5:2.[30]

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25   Since the phrase is considered a direct allusion and not a citation, a study of the text-form is not exegetically beneficial; for definitions of terms see introduction. However, for an attempt at an analysis of the text-form of the allusion see Gundry 1967:32–33; cf. similarly Menken 2004:205–06.

26   Carter (2001:158) asserts that the critique is not limited to Israel's religious leaders since the ruling elite comprise both Roman and Jewish leaders.

27   See also Davies and Allison 1991:148; Gnilka 1986:352; Horsley 2003:14; Keener 1999:309.

28   Hunziker-Rodewald 2001:45–48.

29   Matthew's version of the Greek is different from the LXX.

30   See discussion in ch. 2 above with Hunziker-Rodewald 2001:45.

In 2 Samuel 5:2 the royal military connotation appears clearly in the narrative of David's appointment as king of Israel. The author makes it clear that Israel will not be shepherdless under David's military leadership by an intertextual allusion to Numbers 27:17.[31] In approaching David in Hebron to make him king of Israel, the elders of Israel say:

> In times past, when Saul was king over us, it was you who led out and brought in Israel. And the LORD said to you, "You shall be *shepherd* of my people Israel, and you shall be *prince* over Israel".

This text, which we have already considered in chapter 2 when discussing the development of David as a shepherd in the biblical narrative, places the terms "shepherd" (רעה) and "prince" (נגיד) in parallel. We noted there the suggestion of Hunziker-Rodewald that the characterisation of David as a shepherd underwent a transformation at this point.[32] The narrative characterisation of David as a shepherd no longer connoted the idea of a young and inexperienced boy as it had done previously; but rather, with the intertextual links to Numbers, seen in the clause "you who led out and brought in Israel",[33] and the parallelism of "shepherd" with "prince", David's shepherding now designated his *military and political assignment*. From this moment on, David was the Shepherd-King of Israel.

The military nuance of the phrase "sheep without a shepherd" is affirmed again in 1 Kings 22:17 (2 Chron 18:16). In this passage Micaiah prophesies against Ahab king of Israel. Ahab, who is assisted by the Southern Kingdom of Judah, is on the brink of war with Syria. Micaiah is called to make a prophecy concerning the battle. His prophecy is not a positive one: "I saw all Israel scattered on the mountains, *as sheep that have no shepherd*" (כַּצֹּאן אֲשֶׁר אֵין־לָהֶם רֹעֶה). According to the story, King Ahab was subsequently killed in battle by a stray arrow and the troops of the Northern Kingdom were, as predicted, leaderless and scattered (1 Kings 22:29–36).

In view of these three passages, Hunziker-Rodewald accurately summarizes the meaning of the image of the shepherdless flock in the Old Testament when she states that it refers to the desolate situation of an army following a crushing military defeat: "Eine zweite geprägte Vorstellung zeigt sich im *Bild der hirtenlosen Herde*, das auf die desolate Situation einer kriegerischen Einheit infolge einer militärischen Niederlage verweist".[34] The idea of a shepherdless flock is evoked finally in the post-exilic prophetic passages of Ezekiel 34:5–6 and Zechariah 10:2. In these passages it appears in the context of YHWH's speech castigating the "shepherds" and, in the case of Ezekiel, his promise to raise up a new Davidide to shepherd Israel. In both Ezekiel and

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31 See ch. 2 above with Hunziker-Rodewald 2001:48.
32 Hunziker-Rodewald 2001:47–48.
33 See ch. 2.
34 Hunziker-Rodewald 2001:45, emphasis hers.

Zechariah YHWH's flock is in a desperate condition because of the abuse suf-
fered at the hands of their shepherds (Ezek 34:1–10; Zech 10:1–3).[35] YHWH
promises to seek the lost and gather back his flock who have been scattered
over all the face of the earth (Ezek 34:11–16; Zech 10:6–12). Further, in place
of these bad shepherds, YHWH promises to set up over them a new Davidic
Shepherd-King (Ezek 34:23–24; cf. also 37:24; perhaps too Zech 10:4).

Turning our attention back to Matthew, it seems the evangelist has taken
up the prophetic tradition of Ezekiel 34 with its exilic focus.[36] This is likely, as
Gundry suggests, in view of the two passive participles ἐσκυλμένοι and ἐρ-
ριμμένοι. He links the two terms with the immediate context of Ezekiel 34:5
suggesting:

> Ezek 34:5 provides the background for the picture of a scattered flock huddling on
> the ground and exposed to the harassing and preying of wild beasts. Ἐσκυλμένοι
> signifies the rending and mangling by wild beasts ... while ἐρριμμένοι signifies
> their scattering and exposure.[37]

Further, it seems likely that Matthew has alluded to the Davidic expectation of
Ezekiel 34, given the explicit statements about Jesus as the Messiah (1:1), the
Davidic son (1:1; 18–25) and the shepherd of Israel (2:6). J. A. Overman is
right to assert that the Davidic apologetic begun in the *Vorgeschichte* (chs. 1–
2) of the Gospel[38] is carried through and shades the meaning of the phrase here
so that the phrase ὡσεὶ πρόβατα μὴ ἔχοντα ποιμένα conjures up in the mind
of readers the Davidic Shepherd-King solution to the problem of bad shep-
herds. He summarises this point well:

> Above all, 9:36 recalls Matthew's citation from Micah 5:2 in the birth narrative ...
> Matthew asserts here that the people are without adequate leadership. The promise
> and citation announced in chapter 2 are being fulfilled in this passage and, more, in
> the mission of the twelve to the "lost sheep of the house of Israel".[39]

While Matthew evokes Ezekiel 34 with his use of the phrase, the links with
Numbers and 1 Kings/1 Chronicles cannot be excluded either. This is espe-
cially so in view of the verbal parallel with Numbers 27:17 noted earlier. The
intertextual associations that connect the figures of David, Joshua and Moses
make the trajectory of the whole biblical tradition relevant to Matthew's use of
the phrase.[40]

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35 See the actual texts below in section 4.2.2.
36 See correspondingly Carter 2001:159; Heil 1993:700–01 and most recently Chae 2004:310–
    12.
37 Gundry 1967:32; see also Chae 2004:312; Hartman 1970:147; Lichtenberger 1997:273.
38 For a more detailed discussion of the opening chapters of the Gospel see ch. 3.
39 Overman 1996:139; cf. correspondingly Carter 2000:230–31; Davies and Allison 1991:147–
    48; Nolland 2005:407; although formulating the meaning of expression differently, Luz
    (2001:64–65) still sees the emphasis to be on Jesus as Israel's shepherd.
40 See similarly Allison 1993:215; Boring 1995:252.

In addition, the northern geographical orientation of Matthew's narrative may also place emphasis on 1 Kings 22:17 as it specifically compares the citizens of the Northern Kingdom with "sheep without a shepherd" כַּצֹּאן אֲשֶׁר אֵין־לָהֶם רֹעֶה/ὡς ποίμνιον ᾧ οὐκ ἔστιν ποιμήν). With respect to this latter point, Y. S. Chae, in depending on Luz, seems to miss the particularity of both the summary statement of 9:35 as well as the commissioning of the Twelve in response.[41] He (and Luz) assumes that the phrase "house of Israel" refers to Israel corporately and holistically in spite of the fact that he acknowledges the focused mission on Galilee in the immediate context. Should not the context determine the meaning of the phrases which appear within it? Much more will be said about this in chapter 7.

The question which now occupies us is: Given the Messianic connotations so imbued in the allusion, does Matthew retain to any degree the accompanying national and royal military nuance? At first glance a negative answer seems obvious. Indeed, few scholars have been willing to even entertain such a perspective. However, some evidence both from the present context as well as from the Gospel as a whole suggests that while perhaps subdued by Matthew's understanding of *Heilsgeschichte*, his Messianic understanding retains these deeply rooted national connotations.

Three pieces of evidence, among others, may point in this direction. First, it appears that some of his disciples and followers were zealous nationalists (e.g. Simon, the Cananaean [Aramaic קַנְאָן meaning "zealot", or "enthusiast"], cf. Matt 10:4//Luke 6:15; Acts 1:13) and Jesus' kingdom message remained palatable to those who wished for political revolution and independence.[42] Secondly, there are hints of militaristic activity in the Gospel, especially in statements about the *parousia* that point to an eschatological final battle between the Messiah and the enemies of Israel (cf. Matt 24:26–31).[43] Finally, and perhaps most persuasively, the real possibility exists that the announcement of the kingdom[44] (9:35c), which figures significantly in this context, implied national restoration. This perspective would fit with the observations made earlier concerning the role of the Twelve.

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41 Chae 2004:309–10.
42 Contra Davies and Allison (1991:156) one should not exclude *a priori* the possibility that either Jesus or Mathew would have made "an (ex) Zealot part of his [Jesus'] inner circle". For a sympathetic view see Carson 1995:239; Hagner 1993:266; Hengel 1989:69–70.
43 See equally Carter 2001:86–88, 2005; Sim 2005.
44 While noting the recent critique of the scholarly consensus that "Heaven" is not a reverential circumlocution (cf. Foster 2002; Pennington 2005), I still believe Davies and Allison (1988:392) are correct to argue that the kingdom of God and the kingdom of Heaven refer to the same entity. Foster's (2002) recent thesis that the kingdom of Heaven defends Jesus as Messiah by showing that he came not to establish an earthly kingdom, but a heavenly one must be rejected, not least because of what Jesus taught his disciples to pray: "Your will be done, on earth as it is in heaven" (6:10); see the discussion below and ch. 6.

Few today would disagree that Jesus' kingdom message had political teeth in a first-century Palestinian setting – whether they think he intended it politically or not – in view of the fact that, historically speaking, Jesus of Nazareth was sentenced to death as a Roman insurrectionist.[45] Yet, there are not many Matthean scholars who would argue that Matthew retained or promulgated a geopolitical understanding of the kingdom in his Gospel. It is widely accepted by scholars that the "kingdom" in both Matthew, and the New Testament as a whole, denotes *primarily*, perhaps exclusively, the "dynamic" aspect of God's reign. According to these scholars, the kingdom of God is region-less and universal; it is not territorial or political.[46]

While it is not possible to tackle the issue head on here (see ch. 6 below for a fuller discussion), there are good reasons to call this opinion into question. First, there is an often unacknowledged diversity of perspectives in both ancient Judaism and the New Testament in relation to the question of the Land and the kingdom of God. Second, most explanations of the kingdom of God posit an *aterritorial* understanding of the kingdom. This kind of interpretation requires an improper division between the religious and the political.[47]

I assert that where the Davidic covenant was cherished and a Davidic Messianic expectation nurtured, as in Matthew, the kingdom of God seems to be inextricably linked with the territorial kingdom of Israel.[48] Thus, the announcement of the near-coming kingdom was the announcement of the arrival of a new government. Although it is acknowledged that Jewish nationalism is not a dominant theme in Matthew's vision of Jesus' Messianic mission and is therefore somewhat muted, this is the case *not* because Matthew believes Jesus is bringing either a spiritual kingdom or some kind of non-imperialistic, egalitarian Empire, as Carter suggests.[49]

Rather, the national aspects of Matthew's message are subdued because of his eschatological outlook, which contains the so-called "already–not yet" perspective.[50] While at the *parousia* Jesus, the Son of Man, will come and destroy Israel's enemies (24:30), gather Israel (24:31), judge the nations (25:31–46) and establish a tangible kingdom of Israel (6:10; 19:28), this event, for the author, is *still future*. Matthew describes Jesus' mission both in terms of the present and the future, but his emphasis falls far more on the former than the latter.[51] As will become evident in later chapters of this thesis, the Matthean

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45 Cf. Horsley 2003:129–30.
46 See ch. 6 for a discussion of the "land-kingdom" motif in Matthew.
47 For a more detailed treatment of this subject see ch. 6.
48 See ch. 6 for further development of this point.
49 See Carter 2001:169–79.
50 Scholars are nearly "unanimous" that "the kingdom should somehow be considered both present and future, and formulations such as 'already and not yet' or 'eschatology in the process of realization' have been offered as descriptive of this state of affairs" (Allison 1985:101); cf. also Carter 2001:170.
51 Cf. also Carter 2001:170.

Jesus' mission in the present is twofold: (1) preparation of a people for the kingdom (see ch. 5), and (2) proclamation of the soon-coming restoration of a united kingdom to remnants of the former Northern kingdom of Israel (see chs. 7–8). Furthermore, after the resurrection in the in-between time, "to the end of the age", the mission of the disciples, as a consequence of the universal kingship of Jesus, the Messiah, Son of David, is to make the nations his disciples, (Matt 28:19–20).

In sum, Jesus looks upon the crowds of Israel and sees a people who are in a desperate state. He makes use of the biblical metaphor "sheep without a shepherd" to explain the reason for this circumstance. The bi-referential nature of Matthew's use of Scripture, which was noticed in the previous chapter, seems to be at work here as well.[52] At the level of the narrative the focus seems to be on the spiritual oppression the people are suffering at the hands of the religious authorities.[53] Yet, at a more comprehensive, Gospel-wide level Matthew seems to employ the biblical metaphor – linked as it is to the Davidic hope – to speak of a condition that is the result of a millennium of failed leadership.[54]

The scriptural phrase, "sheep without a shepherd", appropriately describes the condition of the people: oppressed, occupied, and defeated. As YHWH's long-awaited Shepherd-King, Jesus of Nazareth arrives to alter this state of affairs by establishing YHWH's kingdom. According to Matthew Jesus is bringing the kingdom in stages. The first stage is one of "passive" inauguration and announcement, whereby the presence and message of the kingdom in the person and work of Jesus is taken to "all the cities of Israel" (10:23) and to the "nations" (28:19). The second stage will be that of "activistic" consummation at which time Jesus will return in triumph over Israel's enemies.[55]

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52   The bi-referential nature of Matthean Formula citations is discussed and illustrated by Beaton 2002:120–21. He explains that the bi-referentiality of citations "validates the surface or narrative level, as well as recalling and/or presaging ideas concerning or way of viewing Jesus' person and ministry within the boarder message of the Gospel".
53   See Allen 1912:99; Hagner 1993:260.
54   See likewise von Dobbeler 2000:30.
55   The terms "activistic" and "passive" are taken from Buchanan's description of the "theology of conquest" (cf. 1970:1–41). While one may quibble over whether these terms are useful, Buchanan created them in his attempt to describe the two different but biblically legitimate types of "conquest ethics" required for establishing the kingdom of God (i.e. the territory of Israel). These types of ethics are formulated in the Jewish Scripture and developed in later Judaism. "Activistic" ethics were used in holy warfare when Israel took up arms against the enemy. "Passive" ethics, on the other hand, were employed when Israel sinned and had to suffer until her sins were atoned. Buchanan states: "The long heritage of conquest theology that directed both types of ethics is a necessary theological background for understanding Jesus' leadership in Palestine" (1970:41). In the time of Jesus various groups of pious Jews decided to use one ethic or the other in their religious practice; but the goal was the same: the reestablishment of Israel's territorial kingdom. Matthew's portrayal of Jesus' first advent, indeed the NT's portrayal, is one of passive suffering "so as to cover the sins of Israel"

4.2.2 Ancient Jewish Usage

With a sketch of Matthew's use of the phrase drawn, the investigation turns to consider how the phrase was used in other ancient Jewish literature. The purpose here is to determine, as best we are able, to what extent Matthew reflects his own first-century Jewish context in his allusion to the phrase. In this section, the exploration focuses on Judith 11:19 along with the Targums on Numbers 27:11, Ezekiel 34:5, and Zechariah 10:2.

The phrase appears in the book of Judith, which by most accounts derives from the Macabbean period, probably around 100 B.C.[56] Judith 11:19 falls within the section of the book that B. Otzen has labelled "Yahweh demonstrates that he is God". An exploration of the fascinating story of Judith will not be undertaken here, but the verse comes within a speech given by Judith to Nebuchadnezzar's chief general Holofernes. In an ironic address, Judith convinces Holofernes that she has been sent by God to help him accomplish the defeat of Judea and the fall of Jerusalem. Judith ambitiously tells Holofernes:

> I will lead you through Judea, until you come to Jerusalem; there I will set your throne. You will drive them like *sheep that have no shepherd* (ὡς πρόβατα οἷς οὐκ ἔστιν ποιμήν), and no dog will so much as growl at you. For this was told to me to give me foreknowledge; it was announced to me, and I was sent to tell you.

With the phrase, the author alludes to contexts such as 1 Kings 22:17 which, as we observed, pictures Israel militarily defeated and without political leadership. According to Judith, Israel at the defeat of Holofernes will be an occupied, defeated and soon to be deported nation. Because of the ironic nature of the book, however, the message to be taken from the story is the opposite: it is Holofernes and the Assyrians, not Judith and the Jews, who will end up "like sheep without a shepherd".[57]

The Targum Neofiti[58] to Numbers 27:17 is remarkable because its minor additions to the verse make the military and political aspects of the phrase more explicit than the Hebrew text. The text is given below and the expansions are underlined for emphasis.

(1970:41). What is more, this passive ethic became the paradigm for NT ethics as the ecclesia waits in preparation for the kingdom.

56 Cf. Moore 1985:67–70; Otzen 2002:132–34.

57 Cf. Moore 1985:211.

58 McCraken Flesher (1994:613) tells us that Neofiti, along with the Cairo Geniza fragments, represent the earliest rabbinic targums we possess. The manuscript found in the Vatican library contains a sixteenth-century copy of the targum which was composed sometime between the mid-second and the early fourth centuries A.D.

MT	Targum Neofiti
אֲשֶׁר־יֵצֵא לִפְנֵיהֶם וַאֲשֶׁר יָבֹא לִפְנֵיהֶם וַאֲשֶׁר יוֹצִיאֵם וַאֲשֶׁר יְבִיאֵם וְלֹא תִהְיֶה עֲדַת יְהֹוָה כַּצֹּאן אֲשֶׁר אֵין־לָהֶם רֹעֶה	די יפוק קדמיהון ודי יעול קדמיהון ודי יפק יתהון <u>לסדרי קרבא</u> ודי יעל יתהון <u>מן סדרי קרבא בשלם</u> דלא תיהווי בנשתה דייי כעין די לית ליה רעי
who shall go out before them and come in before them, who shall lead them out and bring them in, that the congregation of the Lord may not be as sheep who have no shepherd	who shall go out before them and who shall enter before them, and who shall lead them out to <u>the array of battle</u>, and who shall bring them in from <u>the array of battle in peace</u>; that the congregation of the Lord may not be like a flock which has no shepherd

Table 1. Textual Comparison: Numbers 27:17

The Targum has added the same phrase סדרי קרבא twice and, in so doing, has emphasised the military nature of the context. Thus, according to the Targumist, the shepherdless condition of Israel is equivalent to the absence of a leader – one who will lead them *militarily and politically*. In this way, the influence of 1 Kings 22:17 is obvious as it explicitly places the phrase in a militaristic context. Targums Pseudo-Jonathan and Onqelos to Numbers 27:17, however, do not include these phrases. This absence in the other Targums perhaps is the result of Neofiti's tendency for inconspicuous expansion.[59] What is more, it is likely that this tradition comes from an early period, given its martial emphasis and the absence of the additions in the other Targums.[60]

The final two references come from the Targum on Ezekiel 34:5 and Zechariah 10:2. The Targums in these contexts reflect the perspective of Neofiti in its focus on the political and royal aspects of the phrase.

MT	Targum
וַתְּפוּצֶינָה מִבְּלִי רֹעֶה וַתִּהְיֶינָה לְאָכְלָה לְכָל־חַיַּת הַשָּׂדֶה וַתְּפוּצֶינָה	<u>ואתבדרו מבלי פרנס ואתמסרו</u> <u>לאשתיצאה לכל מלכות עממיא</u> <u>ואטלטלו</u>
So they were scattered, because there was no shepherd, and they became food for all the wild beasts	So they were scattered for want of a <u>leader, and they have been handed over for destruction to all the kingdoms of the nations; and they have been pushed around.</u>

Table 2. Textual Comparison: Ezekiel 34:5

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59   Cf. McCracken Flesher 1994:613.
60   Cf. the discussion of Targum Micah 5:2 in ch. 4.

The Targumist interprets the shepherd imagery with the term "leader" and supplements the Hebrew with an extended interpretation of the final clause. The interpretation suggests the possibility that the Targumist read this clause as a reference to the political and military malaise in which Israel found herself because of the failure of its leaders.

MT	Targum
כִּי הַתְּרָפִים דִּבְּרוּ־אָוֶן וְהַקּוֹסְמִים חָזוּ שֶׁקֶר וַחֲלֹמוֹת הַשָּׁוְא יְדַבֵּרוּ הֶבֶל יְנַחֵמוּן עַל־כֵּן נָסְעוּ כְמוֹ־צֹאן יַעֲנוּ כִּי־אֵין רֹעֶה	ארי פלחיא צלמיא ממללין אונים וקסמיא מתנבן שקר ונביי שקרא בנבואת שקרהון ממללין לא מדעם על כין אתבדרו כבידור ענא גלו ארי לית מלך
For the household gods utter nonsense, and the diviners see lies; they tell false dreams and give empty consolation. Therefore my people wander like sheep; they are afflicted for lack of a shepherd.	For the worshippers of idols speak oppression and the diviners prophesy deceit, and false prophets speak deceit in their deceitful prophesying; they afford no comfort at all; therefore they have been scattered like the scattering of a flock, they went into exile because there was no king.

Table 3. Textual Comparison: Zechariah 10:2

The Targumist makes a number of interesting alterations to his text only the last clause however is of immediate interest to this investigation. First, it is important to notice that the Targumist has made much more explicit the Exile motif which is latent in the Hebrew. What is more, the reason for the condition of the flock, which is here to be understood as "the house of Judah", is the absence of a "king". While it is evident that a "shepherd" is frequently a metaphor for a "king", the context in the Hebrew suggests that the role in view is not the king, but the prophet. It appears that the Targumist has interpreted the imagery here to refer to a royal figure instead of the prophet. This proposal is confirmed in the next two verses where the Targumist alters the Hebrew text and inserts a Messianic figure into the context:

MT	Targum
עַל־הָרֹעִים חָרָה אַפִּי וְעַל־הָעַתּוּדִים	עַל מַלְכַיָּא הֲוָה רוּגְזִי וְעַל שַׁלְטוֹנַיָּא אֲנָא
אֶפְקוֹד כִּי־פָקַד יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת אֶת־עֶדְרוֹ	מַסְעַר עֲלֵיהוֹן חוֹבֵיהוֹן אֲרֵי דְכִיר יוי צבאות
אֶת־בֵּית יְהוּדָה	יָת עַמֵּיהּ יָת דְּבֵית יְהוּדָה וִישַׁוֵּי יָתְהוֹן
וְשָׂם אוֹתָם כְּסוּס הוֹדוֹ בַּמִּלְחָמָה	כְּסוּסֵי תַּקִּיף דְּזַיְוָתַן בִּקְרָבָא
מִמֶּנּוּ פִנָּה מִמֶּנּוּ יָתֵד מִמֶּנּוּ קֶשֶׁת מִלְחָמָה	מִנֵּיהּ מַלְכֵּיהּ מִנֵּיהּ מְשִׁיחֵיהּ מִנֵּיהּ תַּקִּיף
מִמֶּנּוּ יֵצֵא כָל־נוֹגֵשׂ יַחְדָּו	קְרָבֵיהּ מִנֵּיהּ יִתְרַבּוּן כָּל פַּרְנָסוֹהִי כַּחֲדָא
My anger is hot against the shepherds, and I will punish the leaders; for the Lord of hosts cares for his flock, the house of Judah, and will make them like a majestic steed in battle.	My anger was against the kings and against the rulers; I visited their sins upon them, for the Lord of hosts remembers his people, the people of the house of Judah, and he will make them like a strong horse which is distinguished in battle.
From him shall come the cornerstone, from him the tent peg, from him the battle bow, from him every ruler – all of them together.	From them will be their king, from them their anointed One, from them their strength in war, from them shall all their leaders alike be appointed.

Table 4. Textual Comparison: Zechariah 10:3–4

S. H. Levey comments that the Targumist takes every phrase in Zechariah 10:4 as a metaphor and "gives his own interpretation of the meaning of each accordingly".[61] YHWH will bring judgement on the "kings" and "rulers" of the nations (10:5, 11) who have scattered his people throughout the earth, and through the agency of the Messianic King and the house of Judah and the house of Israel (10:3–5), he will restore the political Empire of Israel and gather the exiles back to the Land (10:6–12). Thus, in this Targum the plight of the kingless (shepherdless) people is dramatically altered by YHWH's action in raising up his Messianic King and empowering his people to overcome the foreign occupation of Israel. After this deliverance the exiled and scattered people will be regathered to the Land where they will once again be filled with joy and exult in the "Memra" of the Lord (10:7). The ancient Jewish literature reveals a fairly static meaning of the phrase "like sheep without a shepherd". In each of the places we have found the phrase – whether in the expansive translations of biblical texts in the Targums or in the use in the Jewish-folktale Judith – it has been used to depict *a condition of national Israel on account of a vacuum of political and military leadership. To be like sheep without a shepherd is to be defeated, oppressed, occupied and scattered by foreign enemies.*

From the foregoing investigations – both of the Matthean context and that of ancient Judaism – it appears that by depicting the people as harassed and

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61 Levey 1974:101.

helpless, like sheep without a shepherd, Matthew is invoking the uniform meaning of the phrase: signifying an oppressed, occupied, and scattered Israel. What is more, there is no reason to assume, as most commentators do, that Matthew has denied or supplanted the military aspects of the phrase. While admittedly these aspects are muted to some degree in Matthew, they are neither absent nor denied.

4.3 The Synoptic Parallel to Matthew 9:36–37a

The phrase ὡσεὶ πρόβατα μὴ ἔχοντα ποιμένα that occupies us here has one parallel in Mark's Gospel. Having accepted Markan priority as a working hypothesis for this study,[62] it appears that Matthew has taken over the phrase from his Markan source and has both placed it in a very different setting and used it for a very different purpose.[63] While it is not necessary to get bogged down with the question of Matthew's use of sources, comparison may illuminate Matthew's peculiar theological interests. The parallel texts follow; Matthean redaction is highlighted by underlining:

Matthew 9:36–37a	Mark 6:34
Ιδὼν δὲ τοὺς ὄχλους ἐσπλαγχνίσθη περὶ αὐτῶν, ὅτι ἦσαν ἐσκυλμένοι καὶ ἐρριμμένοι ὡσεὶ πρόβατα μὴ ἔχοντα ποιμένα. τότε λέγει τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ· ὁ μὲν θερισμὸς πολύς, οἱ δὲ ἐργάται ὀλίγοι	Καὶ ἐξελθὼν εἶδεν πολὺν ὄχλον καὶ ἐσπλαγχνίσθη ἐπ' αὐτούς, ὅτι ἦσαν ὡς πρόβατα μὴ ἔχοντα ποιμένα, καὶ ἤρξατο διδάσκειν αὐτοὺς πολλά
When he saw the crowds, he had compassion for them, because they were harassed and helpless, like sheep without a shepherd. Then he said to his disciples, "The harvest is plentiful, but the labourers are few".	When he went ashore he saw a great crowd, and he had compassion on them, because they were like sheep without a shepherd. And he began to teach them many things.

Table 5. Synoptic Comparison

When we compare Matthew's use of the phrase to Mark's, differences are exposed between the two at both the level of placement and wording. These changes may suggest Matthean interests related to the Shepherd-King motif. To take the former issue first, it is necessary to point out that the phrase appears in two very different contexts in the Gospels. The Markan context is set within the pericope of the "Feeding of the Five Thousand" in Mark 6:30–44

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62   Cf. ch. 1 for an explanation of my Gospel presuppositions.
63   Allison 1993:213; Davies and Allison 1991:143–44.

and is preceded by the narrative of the Baptist's death in 6:14–29. The pericope begins with the report of the disciples coming to Jesus and recounting their activities while on the mission (6:30; cf. 6:6b–13). Mark narrates that Jesus and the disciples were unsuccessful, however, in their attempt to depart alone to a "deserted place", because, having seen Jesus going by boat, the "crowds" from "all the towns" followed. When Jesus arrived at his destination and saw the great crowd which had gathered "he had compassion on them, because they were like sheep without a shepherd". Mark records that Jesus' response to this "sight" was "to teach them many things" (6:34). The phrase in Mark, then, is placed within a context of teaching and feeding Israel.

Matthew's context, as we have already discussed, is much different. To rehearse it briefly, he places the phrase on the heels of two healing narratives that include the title "Son of David" (9:27), and the statement of the Pharisees in 9:34 on the preferred reading: "But the Pharisees said, 'He casts out demons by the prince of demons'".[64] What is more, as was stated above, the immediate context of 9:36 is within the purview of the summary statement of Jesus' mission in Galilee in 9:35. This mission, it will be remembered, is centred on the proclamation and demonstration of the kingdom by no less than the Messianic King himself (2:4), who is the "king of the Jews" (2:2), the "ruler who will shepherd [the Lord's] people Israel" (2:6).

Furthermore, the response of Jesus to the plight of Israel is different from Mark's. Rather than teaching Matthew's Jesus *appoints* the Twelve and sends them out on a mission to the "lost sheep of the house of Israel" (10:1–8). In addition to the placement of the phrase, the wording of the clause is different in Matthew when compared to Mark. Matthew inserts the two words ἐσκυλμένοι and ἐρριμμένοι into the clause. We took these terms, following Gundry, to be invoking the context of Ezekiel 34.

While it is easy to point out the differences between the two Gospels, the much harder task is to explain them. With respect to Mark, the activities of teaching and feeding seem to reveal that the phrase is meant to recall Moses. Thus, Mark seems to be invoking the Mosaic text of Numbers 27:17. For Mark the activities in conjunction with the phrase signal to a reader who knows the history of Israel that Jesus is the new Moses – a theme which has been significant for Mark from the very early paragraphs of his Gospel.

Matthew, however, has a different contextual agenda and this agenda weaves a new web of interpretive relationships. While Matthew would arguably have had a redactional interest in portraying Jesus as the new Moses – indeed he does so elsewhere (e.g. Matt 5–7), it seems he chose to remove the "sheep without a shepherd" tradition from the "Feeding" narrative and place it instead in the context of the missions of Jesus and the Twelve. By setting the

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64   Cf. Metzger (1994:20–19) for the argument for the longer reading.

tradition in its present context, Matthew invokes the phrase in order to make a statement about the incompetence and failure of Israel's leaders. Juxtaposing, as Matthew does, the Pharisees with Jesus as the Shepherd-King of Israel and his Twelve envoys reveals that Matthew uses the phrase as a judgement and a promise. Thus, whereas Mark is taking up Numbers 27:17 because of its Mosaic emphasis, Matthew is taking up Ezekiel 34 and/or Zechariah 10:2 because of their Davidic emphasis. Indeed, the latter does not exclude the former, but takes it up and surpasses it.

In sum, Matthew, in contrast to Mark, seems to use the phrase ὡσεὶ πρόβατα μὴ ἔχοντα ποιμένα to conjure up in the mind of his readers not the theme of a new Moses, but *the prophetic leadership critique and its accompanying Davidic Shepherd-King solution*. In doing so, he has supported his assertion, with which he began his Gospel, that Jesus is the Messiah, son of David.

4.4 The Shepherd-King in Matthew 9:36

From the foregoing study several conclusions can be offered. First, Matthew has employed the phrase in a way that reflects the static meaning discovered in the ancient Jewish literature. "Sheep without a shepherd" signifies national Israel in a state of occupation, oppression, and exile due to the absence of capable political leadership.

Second, the tradition is not taken up without some alteration, however. In its present context Matthew has muted to a degree, perhaps less than is usually admitted, the military aspects of the phrase. Yet, the political context of the pericope does not warrant the judgement that this statement refers to spiritual oppression alone. Indeed it does entail the spiritual and religious, but in collaboration with the political and socio-economic.

Third, Matthew has used the phrase to call to mind the prophetic critique along with its accompanying Messianic solution. Matthew's narrative asserts the dreadful state of affairs that has extended as far back as the deportation to Babylon (1:17) as being dramatically reversed in the person and work of Jesus, the Messiah, Son of David, son of Abraham (1:1).

Finally, and progressively, the foregoing exploration makes plain that the Shepherd-King motif invoked by Matthew by means of the allusion contains real political substance. The Shepherd-King, along with his under-shepherds, has arrived in Israel. His arrival has inaugurated the restoration of Israel's political kingdom, which after a time of distress (cf. 24:3–26), will be consummated. This political restoration will remedy the negative situation of God's people that is summed up in the phrase "sheep without a shepherd".

Chapter Five

The Struck Shepherd-King and the Refined Flock
(Matthew 26:31)

"I will strike the shepherd,
and the sheep of the flock will be scattered"
Matthew 9:36

5.1 The Shepherd-King Motif

As in chapters 3 and 4, the first step in the approach taken in this section is to demonstrate that the pericope under consideration does in fact contain the Shepherd-King motif. Before commencing the investigation, though, the context and structure of the passage will be briefly outlined. The verse is part of Matthew's Passion Narrative that began in 26:1, and is contained in the fourth episode in the narrative which culminates in the resurrection and commission of the Eleven in 28:16–20. The outline of the passage suggests that it plays somewhat of an introductory role in the episode in that the events of the Passion are predicted in 26:30–35 anticipating the major elements of the story: (1) Jesus' prophecy concerning the falling away of the disciples (26:31); (2) his promise to go before them to Galilee (26:32); (3) Peter's assertion of loyalty (26:33); (4) Jesus' prophecy of Peter's denials (26:34); and (5) Peter's renewed assertion, which is echoed by the other disciples (26:35).[1]

The first criterion used to validate the presence of the Shepherd-King motif is the identification of shepherding terminology in the pericope. This terminology is easily spotted in 26:31 in the term ποιμήν ("shepherd") and the phrase πρόβατα τῆς ποίμνης ("the sheep of the flock/pasture").

The second criterion requiring a political context can be established by the context of the Passion Narrative. The opening verses of the narrative (26:1–5) set the stage for the events that will culminate in the arrest and crucifixion of Jesus by the Romans at the behest of the political-religious leadership of Israel which is centred in the Temple. The whole Passion Narrative becomes, then, an implicit critique of the failure of Israel's leadership. The theme is a *Leitmo-*

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1   See likewise Carter 2000:508; Davies and Allison 1997:482–83; Hagner 1995:776.

tiv through the whole of the Gospel as has already been noted in discussing the Herod episode of 2:1–12 in chapter 3 above. There Matthew notes that "all of Jerusalem" was troubled along with him at the news of Jesus' birth. Furthermore, Matthew implicates the Jerusalem "chief priests and scribes of the people in Herod's plot to exterminate the child-king (2:4).

Also suggestive of a political-national setting for the pericope of 26:30–35 are three key contextual points: (1) the connection with Jesus' kingdom statement in 26:29, (2) import of the Twelve as τὰ πρόβατα τῆς ποίμνης (26:31, 35), and (3) the significance of the verb προάγω in conjunction with the territory of Galilee.

First, the political overtones of the pericope become discernible in light of the close connection between Matthew 26:30–35 and the Lord's Supper pericope of 26:25–29. Matthew 26:30 makes this connection plain: Καὶ ὑμνήσαντες ἐξῆλθον εἰς τὸ ὄρος τῶν ἐλαιῶν.[2] In the narrative sequence Jesus' statement about τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ πατρός μου would still be ringing in the ears of the eleven disciples – and in the minds of the readers. Moreover, the Evangelist's use of the phrase elsewhere in the Gospel suggests that βασιλεία τοῦ πατρός should be understood here as a material entity.

In Matthew 13:43 the phrase τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ πατρός αὐτῶν appears in Jesus' explanation of the Parable of the Weeds (13:36–43). Here the "kingdom of their father" within the parable undoubtedly refers to a concrete entity, that is, the planet earth, the locus of God's creation.[3] Further, the description of the expansive and universal nature of YHWH's kingdom in this parable does not strip it of its material dimension. Jesus explains that at the συντέλεια αἰῶνος the Son of Man will eradicate evil and evildoers from the world and vindicate the righteous who will be "like the sun in the kingdom of their Father". Complementing Matthew 24:30–31's prediction, the Son of Man will not only send his angels to gather the elect from the four winds, he will also remove from his realm those who are not righteous. Thus, the kingdom to which Jesus is referring and to which he looks forward in hopeful anticipation, is the territorial kingdom of Israel. This theme is not, as we have already emphasized, inconsequential to Matthew. See more on the territorial restoration of Israel's kingdom in chapter 6 below.

A second contextual clue suggesting a political-national interest in this passage is Matthew's stress on the twelve disciples in 26:31–32. Matthew has

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2   See similarly Patte 1987:364–65; Marcus (1993:155–56) has pointed out the likely allusion in Mark (and equally so in Matthew) to the Messianic expectations surrounding the Mount of Olives that arose from Zech 14:1–5. According to Jewish tradition the Mount of Olives was the place where the Messiah would conduct his eschatological battle against the enemies of Israel.

3   See correspondingly Allen 1912:153; Davies and Allison 1991:430; Lohmeyer and Schmauch 1956:224; Luz 2001:268; Nolland 2005:559.

stated that Jesus has eaten the Passover meal with the Twelve (26:20),[4] and the emphasis remains very much on the Twelve throughout the pericope (cf. 26:35b). The specificity with which Matthew, in comparison to Mark, highlights the Eleven seems to cohere with their important role in the First Gospel.

In chapter 4 of the thesis, the Twelve's unique *constitutive* role within the Messianic community was highlighted. They function as the alternative ἔθνος which will replace the failed leadership establishment (Matt 21:43).[5] Here, however, they fill the role of progenitor of all "true" Israel. They are the faithful subset of Israel – the remnant – who will not only form the future leadership of the restored territorial kingdom of Israel,[6] but who also form the nucleus of the restored people of God who will inherit that Empire.[7] Thus, the Twelve are the vanguard of Israel's national restoration: the future of the nation is inextricably linked to the disciples.[8]

In the immediate context of the passage, Jesus promises the disciples that they will drink wine with him again in the soon-coming kingdom of his Father. S. McKnight rightly states, "[the Twelve] who respond to Jesus now are those who will share the benefits of the kingdom that Jesus is presently inaugurating for Israel".[9] Yet, before the kingdom is consummated, Matthew 26:30–35 speaks of an event that must take place to purify the polluted land and refine and prepare true Israel for entry into the kingdom.

Thirdly, the focus on Galilee in Matthew 26:32 and the related passage of 28:16 underscores the national interests of the pericope. The importance of the region of Galilee in the First Gospel can hardly be over emphasised, although it could be the case that Matthew is taking cues from Mark and simply completing the storyline he left hanging. But to conclude this is to overlook Matthew's unique contributions to the traditions he inherited as well as his keen interest in the geographical/territorial redemption of Israel.[10] The implications of Matthew's territorial interests, in connection with the present pericope, have been pursued recently by P. Stuhlmacher.[11]

Stuhlmacher connects Jesus' statement: προάξω ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν in 26:32 with Matthew 28:16 and contends that the narrative thread should be seen against an Old Testament background. He argues that the trip to Galilee, in light of the prophetic Messianic expectations, is a symbolic act by which Jesus dramatises the restoration of "Greater Israel":

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4   Some mss contain τῶν δώδεκα μαθητῶν: ℵ A L W Δ Θ 33, 892, 1241, 1424, *l* 844, large number of mss, lat syh samss mae bo; cf. Metzger 1994:53.
5   See likewise Bockmuehl 2004:21–22; Duling 2005; McKnight 2001:30.
6   See ch. 6; see also Matt 19:28.
7   See likewise Freyne 1968:205–06; Roose 2004:94.
8   Matthew's remnant theology is perhaps similar in many respects to that found in the Qumran Scrolls. See Willitts 2006; Bockmuehl 2001:393.
9   McKnight 1999:127.
10   Ch. 6 will argue for these points that have already been suggested in earlier chapters.
11   See Stuhlmacher 2000; cf. likewise Skarsaune 2003.

> When the exalted Christ goes before his disciples to Galilee ... he is appearing ... as the representative of the divine βασιλεία in the region of the northern districts of Greater Israel ... If one sees this soteriological and eschatological context, then one can say that the exalted Christ ... initiates *the eschatological restoration of Greater Israel*.[12]

In the footsteps of Weiss,[13] Stuhlmacher suggests that Jesus wishes to lead his disciples to Galilee in order to symbolise the future territorial restoration of Israel. In so doing, Matthew claims that Jesus, as Israel's Messiah, will fulfil YHWH's promises to restore the Davidic Kingdom in the Land and regather the dispersed at the end of the age (cf. Jer 30:1–31:40; Psalm 80; Micah 2:12–13). The eleven disciples in this perspective represent the nucleus of the redeemed Israel who will be refined and tested as they are scattered on mission (28:19–20; cf. also 10:9–42). Stuhlmacher again states, "Jesus' proceeding to *Galilee* involves the symbolic restoration of (Greater) Israel after the catastrophy of judgement which has come upon the shepherd and his flock".[14]

In sum, the connection between Matthew 26:32 and 28:16–20 suggests that the ultimate focus of 26:30–35 is the future restoration of the kingdom of Israel. From a Hebraic perspective this primarily implies the reestablishment of the nation-state of Israel in the sense of the United Monarchy of David and Solomon. Matthew's interest in the territorial restoration of Israel seems to be the reason for his portrayal of the resurrected Messiah's appearance in Galilee.[15]

The third criterion established to confirm the Shepherd-King motif requires a reference to a Davidide or prophetic Shepherd-King citation. The presence of the quotation from Zechariah 13:7 in 26:31b reveals that Matthew has rooted his narrative in a scriptural Shepherd-King text.[16] Having met the three criteria, the conclusion follows that this pericope contributes to the Shepherd-King motif.[17] The study will now proceed to a discussion of the meaning and function of Zechariah 13:7.

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12 Stuhlmacher 2000:26–27, emphasis his.
13 See Weiss (1959:18) who paraphrased the statement this way, "I will lead you back home; there will come the fulfillment of our hopes – the kingdom of God". In addition, Evans (1954:9–11) has shown that the verb προάγω when accompanied by a personal object means "to lead" and carries a militaristic force. Thus, rather than a spatial or chronological nuance, the idea of "going before" in Matt 26:32 should be understood to refer to leadership: "I will be at the head and leading".
14 Stuhlmacher 2000:26.
15 See similarly Skarsaune 2003.
16 Cf. ch. 2; also Evans (1954:8) remarks on the centrality of the shepherd/flock imagery in Zechariah 9–14: "It would hardly be sufficient to say that the prophecy [Zech 9–14] contains references to the shepherd of Israel and the flock of Israel; its account of judgement and redemption is to a considerable extent given in terms of the shepherd and his flock".
17 A similar conclusion is reached by Chae 2004:302–03.

5.2 The Quotation in Matthew 26:31

Matthew introduces his citation of Scripture in 26:31 with the formula γέγραπται γάρ ("for it is written"). Attention should be directed to the fact that this is not an instance of the familiar Matthean formula quotations, although it still "advance[s] the motif of scriptural fulfilment".[18] This quotation, like that of 2:6, is put into the mouth of a character in the narrative, in this case Jesus.[19]

Since this is a citation, the procedure in the following assessment will mirror that which was undertaken in the investigation of the composite quotation in Matthew 2:6 in chapter 3. The exploration commences with a consideration of the text-form of the citation investigating the differences between Matthew's version and other known ancient versions in hopes of discerning Matthew's redactional interests. Next the function of the quotation in its Matthean context will be considered. The study concludes with a brief look at the use of Zechariah 13:7 in other ancient Jewish sources, namely the *Damascus Document* of the Cairo Geniza and the Targum to Zechariah.

5.2.1 Matthew's Text-Form

The chart below lists the known versions with divergences from the MT underlined. Generally speaking the Matthean version resembles the Markan version – save the addition of the phrase τῆς ποίμνης and the placement of the second verb (Matthew fronts the verb to the beginning of the clause) – and is very close to the reading found in the MT and CD-B,[20] although it departs significantly from the Old Greek and Targum. The Matthean divergences from the MT, the LXX, the Targum and Mark perhaps reveal something of his theological interests.

When carefully considered, the divergences in both the LXX and the Targum from the MT share the tendency to *narrow* the scope of God's judgement to focus singularly on the political leaders of the people. It is not the people as a whole who deserve judgement, but rather *Israel's leadership*. In the OG this *Tendenz* can be seen most evidently in two ways. First, in the use of the plural τοὺς ποιμένας for the two uses of the Hebrew singular רֹעֶה (רֹעִי in v. 7a and הָרֹעֶה in 7b). This change of number in the OG alters the plain sense of the passage resulting in the depiction of the judgement of God falling on Israel's "shepherds" alone. Secondly, the rendering ἐκσπάσατε for וּתְפוּצֶין, is the only occurrence of this term in the LXX and makes for a curious translation of the

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18 Senior 1997:106.
19 Cf. Davies and Allison 1997:485.
20 See similarly Ham 2005:70; Menken 2004:221.

Hebrew. פוץ is most commonly translated in the LXX with the verb διασκορ-πίζω.[21] Interestingly, in the other place in Zechariah where פוץ appears transla-tor rendered the term with another relatively curious verb διαχέω (cf. 1:17).[22]

Thus, it appears difficult to determine why the translator rendered the idea "to scatter" with "to draw out" in 13:7, since in both places where the Hebrew verb is used, a verb rarely used for this word is employed. In the case of 1:17, though, the meaning is nearly synonymous with διασκορπίζω. K. Stendahl suggests the possibility that this unusual rendering is a "tendentious interpreta-tion which lays stress on 'the remnant', the godly in the land, as the good ones who will be redeemed, unlike their wicked leaders".[23] His interpretation is based on the fact that ἐκσπάω in the LXX tends to imply the meaning "to save," "to redeem" (cf. Amos 3:12) and, thus, seems quite plausible.[24] If Sten-dahl's view is correct, the choice of the term ἐκσπάω could imply the Greek translator's interest in Israel's leaders and God's judgement of them. Similarly, the Targum narrows the scope of God's judgement to the political leaders in two ways. First, the term מלכא is substituted for רֹעֶה in the two places it appears in 13:7. And secondly, the singular הַצֹּאן וּתְפוּצֶין is rendered with the plural ויתבדרון שלטוניא ("the princes shall be scattered"), thereby interpreting the "flock" specifically as political leaders.

When the Matthean version of the citation is compared with these extant versions, it appears that Matthew has avoided, perhaps purposefully, the inter-pretive developments evident in the Old Greek and Targum by closely follow-ing the MT.[25] Three examples show Matthew's attentiveness to the Hebrew. First, with the verb διασκορπίζω, Matthew or his source has more accurately rendered the Hebrew פוץ (cf. the OG's ἐκσπάω). Secondly, while the Targum rightly renders פוץ with its Aramaic equivalent בדר, as was noted above, the Targum moves the focus of judgement off the nation and onto the leadership by rendering הַצֹּאן with שלטוניא. In contrast, Matthew maintains the sense of the Hebrew by keeping the focus of judgement squarely on Israel: Israel will be dispersed and ultimately restored as a consequence for the slaying of the shep-herd.

Next, Matthew retains the MT's subordinate relationship of the two clauses in the citation. The MT's proposition, with its grammatical construc-tion "imperative followed by imperfect", has a *consequential* logic and is mir-rored in Matthew by the Greek "verb + participle" construction:[26]

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21   Cf. also Stendahl 1968:82.
22   This is the only place διαχέω is used to render פוץ.
23   Stendahl 1968:82.
24   Stendahl 1968:82.
25   Cf. also Jeremias 1968:492.
26   Waltke and O'Connor 1990:529, 650.

הַךְ אֶת־הָרֹעֶה   πατάξω τὸν ποιμένα,
וּתְפוּצֶין ‫הַצֹּאן   καὶ διασκορπισθήσονται τὰ πρόβατα τῆς ποίμνης

Compare this with the LXX which has two independent and coordinate clauses:

πατάξατε τοὺς ποιμένας
καὶ ἐκσπάσατε τὰ πρόβατα

Finally, Matthew's word order differs from Mark and mirrors the MT, Old Greek and the Targum.

What, if anything, can be definitively made of these observations? Can one assert a purposeful preference for the Hebrew over the Old Greek in this case? Moreover, can one conclude that Matthew, by following the MT, has intentionally avoided the tendency in the LXX (and Targum) to narrow the focus in the citation? Obviously, an absolute answer to these questions is impossible, given the paucity of evidence. Further complicating matters is the likely constraint Matthew's received tradition would have placed on him, which would have naturally curtailed his employment of the citation for his own ends. Yet, in view of the fact that Matthew follows the Hebrew against both Mark (e.g. word order and logical sequence) and the LXX (e.g. vocabulary), one can venture a cautious, but affirmative, answer to the question of preference for the Hebrew in this instance.[27] However, what cannot be known, at least at this point, is whether this preference was motivated by a theological interest or simply by some coincidence of history. Still, when further evidence is considered, the motivation for preferring the Hebrew version may become clear.

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27   See similarly Rothfuchs 1969:84; contra Gundry 1967:26; Stendahl 1968:80–81 who see the change in word order of little importance; New 1993:87.

Matthew 26:31b	Mark 14:27b	OG Zech 13:7	MT Zech 13:7	CD-B 19:7–9a	Targum Zech 13:7
		ῥομφαία ἐξεγέρθητι ἐπὶ τοὺς ποιμένας μου	חֶרֶב עוּרִי	חרב עורי	חרבא אתגלי
			עַל־רֹעִי	על רועי	על מלכא
		καὶ ἐπ᾽ ἄνδρα πολίτην αὐτοῦ[a]	וְעַל־גֶּבֶר עֲמִיתִי	ועל גבר עמיתי	ועל רברבא חבריה דכותיה
		λέγει κύριος παντοκράτωρ	נְאֻם יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת	נאם אל	אמר יי צבאות
	πατάξω τὸν ποιμένα,	πατάξατε[b] τοὺς ποιμένας	הַךְ אֶת־הָרֹעֶה	הך את הרועה	קטול ית מלכא
	καὶ τὰ πρόβατα διασκορπισθήσονται	καὶ ἐκσπάσατε[d] τὰ πρόβατα[e]	וּתְפוּצֶיןָ הַצֹּאן	ותפוצין הצאן	ויתבדרון עמא
γέγραπται γάρ· πατάξω τὸν ποιμένα, καὶ διασκορπισθήσονται τὰ πρόβατα τῆς ποίμνης		καὶ ἐπάξω τὴν χεῖρά μου ἐπὶ τοὺς ποιμένας	וַהֲשִׁבֹתִי יָדִי עַל־הַצֹּעֲרִים	והשבותי ידי על הצוערים	ואתיב מחת גבורתי על...

For it is written,	For it is written,	Awake, O sword, against my shepherds, and against the man who is my citizen, saith the Lord Almighty:	"Awake, O sword, against my shepherd, against the man who stands next to me", declares the LORD of hosts.	Wake up, sword, against my shepherd, and against the male who is my companion – oracle of God –	O Sword, be revealed against the king and against the prince his companion who is his equal, who is like him, says the Lord of hosts;
"I will strike the shepherd, and the sheep of the flock will be scattered."	"I will strike the shepherd, and the sheep will be scattered."	Smite the shepherds, and draw out the sheep:	Strike the shepherd, and the sheep will be scattered;	Strike the shepherd, and the flock may scatter,	Slay the king, and the princes shall be scattered
		and I will bring mine hand upon the shepherds	I will turn my hand against the little ones.	and I shall turn my hand against the little ones.	and I will bring back a mighty stroke upon the underlings.

a   Ziegler 1943 differs from Rahlfs 1979 Greek text here by replacing αὐτοῦ with μου.

b   LXX A & Q have πατάξον.

c $\mathfrak{P}^{37,45}$ D K W Γ Δ Θ f¹ 565, 579, 1424 pm have διασκορπισθήσεται, while the preferred text is supported by $\mathfrak{P}^{53}$ ℵ A B C L 067, 0281 f¹³ 33, 700, 892, 1241, pm.

d   LXX A, Q, a number of minuscules and the Syro-Hexaplar have διασκορπισθήσονται.

e   LXX A and a couple of minuscules have τὰ πρόβατα τῆς ποίμνης.

Table 1. Matthew 26:31 Text-Form

Matthew's version, which suggests that he was careful to follow the MT, does diverge from the MT at two significant points and these might suggest Matthew's theological agenda. The first is the future indicative first person singular verb πατάξω for the Hebrew imperative singular הַךְ; an alteration Matthew has in common with Mark. The Old Greek has an unusual second person plural imperative πατάξατε, while the Targum has the *peal* imperative קְטֹל. The second difference is Matthew's genitive phrase τῆς ποίμνης. While none of the oldest extant manuscripts contain a reading of Zechariah 13:7 with the genitive phrase, a few manuscripts do have it, most notably the fifth-century codex, Codex Alexandrinus (LXX-A).

What can be made of these differences? Does either one suggest Matthew's hand?[28] With respect to the first difference, the fact that the first person singular verb πατάξω appears in both Mark and Matthew – against all other known early textual witnesses[29] – suggests that Matthew agreed with Mark's reading, if we assume Markan priority. Three alternative explanations for this fact present themselves. Either: (1) Mark was the first to introduce the reading,[30] or (2) the reading already existed in a now-lost version, or (3) the reading already existed in something like a *Testimonia*.[31] Rendering a definitive answer is impossible, but number two is perhaps the least likely since no text-form exists that supports such a claim. Given the evidence, the most that can be said is that the first person singular indicative is a Messianic adaptation and appears not to have originated with Matthew.[32] It does seem useful to point out, however, that this reading is a contextually justifiable dynamic equivalent of the Hebrew, since the subject of the imperative is the sword of the Lord, and so is virtually God himself.[33]

While the first difference yields an inconclusive decision, the second difference, the insertion of the genitive phrase τῆς ποίμνης, seems to suggest Matthean redaction.[34] Yet, most scholars assume the phrase reflects a tradition which is independent of Matthew.[35] Because LXX A and Matthew are identical except for the future πατάξω, most commentators presume the existence of another ancient text-form which is now represented in both Matthew and

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28 For a concise overview of most of the issues and various positions discussed here see Senior 1982:91–92.
29 Cf. Waard 1965:39.
30 Cf. Stendahl 1968:82; Waard 1965:40.
31 Cf. Dodd 1952:66–67; Waard 1965:40.
32 Cf. Stendahl (1968:82) labels it a "Christian adaptation". I hesitate to use this because it could be misunderstood as a "non-Jewish" reading. The early date of this interpretive translation (i.e. prior to Mark) ensures that this is a Jewish reading of the Hebrew Scriptures; cf. also Rothfuchs 1969:84; Senior 1982:93; contra Gundry 1967:27.
33 Cf. also Lindars 1961:131.
34 Menken (2004:221–22) notes the importance of this issue when he comments: "The essential question is: why did Matthew add the words τῆς ποίμνης".
35 Davies and Allison 1997:485; Gnilka 1992:406; Gundry 1994:530; Ham 2005:79, n. 238.

LXX A. In addition, they reject any notion that Matthew's version has influenced LXX A. Davies and Allison represent one argument for this view, when they write:

> We tend to think that LXX A, which is closer to the MT than LXX B, preserves a reading known to Matthew, *for we are otherwise at a loss to explain Matthew's addition of "of the flock"*. Further, were LXX A under Matthean influence, surely it would have πάταξω instead of πάταξον.[36]

Davies and Allison's argument *for* the view of an independent text-form is far from convincing, although a theory of an independent text-form may prove to be a convincing argument in the future, not least because there is an extant textual witness. What is more, it is not evident that Matthew would have had an LXX A text-type at his disposal. Insofar as the Hexaplaric versions are evidence of the later Greek text corrected toward the MT, the fact that Codex A has readings which evince correction toward the MT, might suggest that the text is at least *younger* than the Old Greek and could be even younger than or contemporaneous with Matthew's version. In addition, the theory of a Palestinian LXX tradition, which K. Stendahl and J. de Waard use to explain the peculiarity of LXX A,[37] is not persuasive and has been subsequently discredited.[38]

Yet, while the existence of LXX A places the burden of proof on the one who would argue for Matthean influence, the evidence suggests it is more probable that Matthew has made an addition to the Zechariah text than that he found this text-form among the ancient versions. This claim will be substantiated as the argument progresses, but it appears Matthew's text is the basis for the LXX A reading. What is more, it is entirely conceivable that a Christian scribe sometime before the sixth century would have added the genitive phrase to the Zechariah passage to align it with Matthew's text.[39] While a Palestinian tradition of the likes of Stendahl and Waard cannot be maintained, scholars have shown that there is very early evidence (pre-Christian) of a Jewish Septuagint tradition which is characterised by a text corrected toward the MT (e.g. the καίγε recension [Theodotionic] and proto-Lucian).[40] Nevertheless, this fact alone cannot account for the presence of the genitive phrase in LXX A.

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36 Davies and Allison 1997:485, emphasis added; cf. also Waard (1965:38) who states that Matthew is completely identical to the LXX A and a correction of LXX A on the basis of Matthew is "impossible, because the imp. πάταξον would certainly have been exchanged for a fut. πάταξω in the case of the supposed correction and because both the LXX codices [A & Q] give a better rendering of the Hebrew text traditions by their reading of the sing. τόν ποίμενα".

37 Stendahl 1968:81; Waard 1965:38–39.

38 For a recent critique of the Palestinian tradition view first espoused by P. Kahle see Fernández Marcos 2000:51–57. See also Soares Prabhu (1976:82) who is also sceptical of the antiquity of LXX A.

39 Cf. similarly Foster 2003:79; Menken 2004:222; Sabourin 1977:998, n. 59.

40 About the "καίγε revision", Fernández Marcos (2000:152, esp. 246–52) writes, "[it is] a revision which comprises a series of corrections to adapt the original LXX to a proto-Masoretic type of Hebrew text in 1st century BCE Palestine".

The aim of the rest of this section of the chapter is to demonstrate the genitive phrase τῆς ποίμνης as having Matthew's redactional fingerprints.[41] Others have attempted to make the same point. For example, M. Menken recently proposed that the addition suggests there are "two kinds of sheep: those that belong to the flock, and those that do not ... the expansion with τῆς ποίμνης serves to draw attention to the circumstance that at this critical moment, even Jesus' flock will be dispersed".[42] The inadequacy of this proposal will become clear when the context of Matthew and the terminology of the phrase are carefully considered.

Thus, Menken's suggestion notwithstanding, the phrase seems most convincingly the result of Matthean textual formation: the conflation of Zechariah 13:7 and Ezekiel 34:31.[43] It is true that the suggestion of the presence of an allusion to Ezekiel 34:31 in this quotation is by no means novel,[44] yet I wish to further the discussion by strengthening the suggestion to the point where the citation is understood to be nothing short of a *composite quotation*. This viewpoint is based on an investigation of both the unique terminology of the phrase τὰ πρόβατα τῆς ποίμνης and of the immediate context of Matthew.

Matthew 26:31	OG Ezekiel 34:31	MT Ezekiel 34:31
τὰ πρόβατα τῆς ποίμνης	πρόβατα ποιμνίου μου	צֹאן מַרְעִיתִי
the sheep of the flock/pasture	sheep of my flock/pasture	the sheep of my pasture

Table 2. Matthew 26:31//Ezekiel 34:31

The table above presents several details that reveal the presence of Ezekiel 34:31 and substantiate the claim that Matthew has created a composite quotation. First, the Matthean phrase, although not identical to the Old Greek resembles Ezekiel 34:31 with a similar construction: head noun plus genitive modifying noun. The presence of the Greek article τά before ποίμνης in Matthew could be the result of Matthew's own rendering of the Hebrew construction of the phrase which is understood as definite from the head noun מַרְעִיתִי in the construct chain. In addition, the choice of the feminine noun ποίμνη in-

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41 Cf. Senior 1982:93.
42 Menken 2004:222; see Gundry 1967:27 for additional interpretive options. Also, Foster (2003:79–80) recently took up Gundry's suggestion that Matthew's motivation for the inclusion of τῆς ποίμνης was "an allusion to the church". Yet, Foster neither thinks to ask what the phrase means, i.e. how does "of the flock" allude to the church, nor how it could be considered by Matthew part and parcel of a scriptural citation if he did not derive it from Scripture. Surprisingly, Ham's (2005:71) recent work on Matthew's use of Zechariah pays little attention to the addition.
43 Although it is not entirely clear what Menken means by the expression, this is perhaps what he has labelled a "targumic addition" (2004:222); cf. also likewise Gundry 1967:27, 1994: 530; Heil 1993:706.
44 See e.g. recently Chae 2004:285; Ham 2005:79.

stead of the neuter ποιμνίον could be merely stylistic. Secondly, while there are many examples of the phrase τὰ ποίμνια τῶν προβάτων in the LXX as a translation for the Hebrew עֶדְרֵי צֹאן,[45] there are *no* examples of the construction πρόβατα ποιμνίου/עֶדֶר צֹאן or its equivalent, save the Old Greek of Ezekiel 34:31.

This leads, thirdly, to the observation that Ezekiel 34:31 is the only place in the entire Septuagint where the Hebrew word מַרְעִית ("pasture") is translated ποιμνίον.[46] It is not possible to determine the reason for the translator's rendering. It is true that מַרְעִית in this passage is the only occurrence of the word in Ezekiel, and perhaps the translator, being unaware of the meaning of the word, chose one in the same semantic field. Curiously, however, מַרְעִית is not that uncommon a word in the Hebrew Bible, appearing 10 times. Nevertheless, outside of this one instance the idea formed by the Greek πρόβατα ποιμνίου ("sheep of the flock") does not exist in either the Hebrew or Greek Scriptures, nor does the phrase appear in non-biblical Greek literature until the sixth century A.D.[47]

Thus, in Matthew this phrase would be unprecedented and senseless as a Scripture citation apart from the Old Greek rendering of Ezekiel 34:31, even though it may sound appropriate, even poetic to our ears. Yet, given the unprecedented use of the phrase and the unusual rendering of ποιμνίον for מַרְעִית, is it possible that the phrase would have been understood differently by the *authorial audience* of first-century Jewish readers? Perhaps he had in mind something more in line with the Hebrew "pasture" rather than "flock"? A quick comparison of the Hebrew and the OG of Ezekiel 34:22–31 suggests that the passage in the LXX remains focused on Israel's territorial restoration "in their land" (τῆς γῆς αὐτῶν/אַרְמָתָם), (34:27). So, however one translates the term ποιμνίον, given the context of Ezekiel 34, it should be understood as a territorial entity.[48]

This latter observation is significant not least because Matthew purports to be quoting Scripture (γέγραπται γάρ) and, as a result, Jewish readers would have expected to hear familiar biblical phrases. Since the scriptural basis of Matthew's claim is paramount to justify his claim, it is self-evident that scriptural language should provide the basis for our judgement concerning the phrase. Moreover, if Matthew wished to conjure up the Shepherd-King context of Ezekiel 34 here, as it seems he did, he would need to use the terminology of the passage which was familiar to his Greek speaking Jewish hearers. In this

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45   E.g. Gen 29:2; Micah 5:7; Joel 1:18; cf. also Deut 7:13; 28:4, 18, 51; Psa 77:70.

46   All other 9 occurrences are rendered with νομή; cf. Isa 49:9; Jer 10:21; 23:1; 25:36; Hosea 13:6; Psa 74(73):1; 79:13; 95(94):7; 100:3.

47   Not until Procopius in ca. 500 A.D. does the phrase appear in nonbiblical Greek literature (this data is derived from a May 2005 online search of TLG).

48   It seems too that ποιμνίον can have a territorial sense in the LXX. It is used on two occasions to render the Hebrew term מִכְלָא meaning "sheepfold": Psa 50(49):9; 78(77):70.

case, it would not have served him to create his own more accurate translation with the more common Greek word for "pasture", νομή.[49]

The implication of these observations is that Ezekiel 34:31 is the *sole* place in the Jewish Scriptures from which this genitive phrase could be derived. Additionally, the meaning of the phrase would appear more properly to be along the lines of the territorial idea "of the pasture" or "of the sheepfold" rather than "of the flock", since the latter phrase would be without conceptual or verbal parallel in the Bible.

If the present argument is sound, it is important to understand the meaning of the Hebrew phrase צֹאן מַרְעִיתִי in its scriptural context. The term מַרְעִית has both a literal and figurative usage in the Bible. The literal or non-figurative use in the Jewish Scriptures has a territorial sense. For example, 1 Chronicles 4:39, 41 is a description of the journey of the descendants of Simeon to their final destination of settlement, which was a place of pasture: "They journeyed to the entrance of Gedor, to the east side of the valley, to seek *pasture for their flocks* [מִרְעֶה לְצֹאנָם/νομὰς τοῖς κτήνεσιν αὐτῶν] ... and [they] settled in their place, because there was *pasture there for their flocks*" [מִרְעֶה לְצֹאנָם/νομαὶ τοῖς κτήνεσιν αὐτῶν].

The figurative use of the phrase "of your pasture" or "of my pasture", with respect to YHWH, is a common metaphor and, like the literal use, expresses a "territorial" sense.[50] A good example of this common expression is Psalm 79(78):13: "But we your people, the sheep of your pasture (צֹאן מַרְעִיתֶךָ /πρόβατα τῆς νομῆς σου)". The territorial aspect to the meaning of pasture is gained from the context. Psalm 79 is a lament, "How long, O Lord?" (79:5), for the destruction and occupation of the Promised Land: 79:1 states, "O God, the nations have come into your inheritance"; and 79:7 says, "For they have devoured Jacob and laid waste his habitation". Another more relevant example comes from Jeremiah 23:1: "'Woe to the shepherds who destroy and scatter the sheep of my pasture!' declares the Lord". In this case, the shepherds have scattered the sheep from YHWH's pasture. In 23:3 YHWH states that he "will gather the remnant of my flock ... and bring them back to their fold". A little later he promises to raise up a scion of David who will "execute justice and righteousness in the land" (23:5). As a result, Judah and Israel will "dwell securely" in the Land (23:6). The "pasture" of God, therefore, whether it is an address to God with the pronoun "your" or YHWH speaking with "my", denotes the Promised Land with Jerusalem and the Temple at its heart (cf. Psalm 74[73]).

Turning to Ezekiel 34:31, the verse states: "You are my sheep, the human sheep of my pasture, and I am your God, declares the Lord God". The verse stands as the concluding statement of 34:22–31 and, as was noted, the central

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49   Interestingly, the Lucianic Recension has νομῆς for ποιμνίου; cf. Ziegler 1952:285.
50   E.g. Psa 74(73):1; 79(78):13; 100(99):3; Jer 23:1.

interest of this passage is the restoration of the nation in the Promised Land. Having promised to save and gather Israel back to the Land, YHWH promises to place over them a new Davidic Shepherd-King and bless them with a paradisaical land which is safe and abundantly fruitful. Evident from the context, the "pasture" on which YHWH grazes (34:13) his sheep is the Land of Israel, his Promised Land.

In sum, it is argued here, firstly on the basis of the terminology of the unique phrase, that the additional genitive in Matthew's citation in 26:31 is the result of a conflation of Zechariah 13:7 and Ezekiel 34:31. What is more, the Old Greek phrase πρόβατα ποιμνίου is an anomaly (e.g. the phrase itself and the Septuagintal rendering of ποιμνίον for מַרְעִית) and would perhaps be more correctly translated into English by the phrase "of the pasture" or "of the sheepfold" rather than "of the flock". Also, the metaphorical use of the term "pasture", with respect to YHWH, has a territorial sense and refers to the Promised Land.

In addition to the terminology of the phrase, the immediate context around Matthew 26:31 underpins the claim that τὰ πρόβατα τῆς ποίμνης is no mere allusion to Ezekiel 34:31 but in fact represents a conflation of Zechariah 13:7 with the territorially related verse from Ezekiel. It was pointed out previously that the kingdom logion of Matthew 26:29 sets the contextual stage for what follows.[51] Insofar as the βασιλεία τοῦ πατρός μου is a territorial entity and the context of 26:31 stretches ahead to the appearance of Jesus in Galilee in 28:16 – an appearance which is symbolic, I contend, of the restoration of greater Israel, it seems reasonable to think that the genitive phrase from Ezekiel 34:31 fits well Matthew's theological interests in this passage.[52] It appears that the combination of the territorial sense of the phrase and the Shepherd-King context of Ezekiel 34, which both Zechariah and Ezekiel have in common, provided the impetus for combining the two passages here.

The discussion of Matthew's text-form has focused on the addition of the genitive phrase because it is here where Matthew's redactional prints are most evident. Based on the foregoing investigation, I have concluded that Matthew's unique text-form is the result of his own hand and discloses his territorial interests. The presence of the peculiar phrase is no mere allusion to Ezekiel 34, but is evidence of a composite quotation, a conflation of Zechariah 13:7 and Ezekiel 34:31. What is more, Matthew's territorial interests could also have been the reason for his seemingly close following of the MT's structure and syntax in contrast to the translations in Greek and Aramaic.

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51   See earlier in this chapter and ch. 6's discussion of the "Land-Kingdom" motif in Matthew.
52   See similarly Stuhlmacher 2000.

5.2.2 Function of the Citation

What does the text-form of Matthew's citation tell us about the function of the quotation in its present context? Commentators most often focus their attention on the narrative function of the quotation. D. A. Carson summarises the view well: "Jesus' words 'For it is written' show that the disciples' defection, though tragic and irresponsible, does not fall outside of God's sovereign plan".[53] On this level, the quotation reveals that God is actually behind the events of the death of Jesus and the defection of the disciples. This perspective is certainly correct and is representative of the entire Passion Narrative, which makes clear that the events surrounding Jesus of Nazareth are not an ill-fated tragedy; but rather, they are unfolding as God had predicted through his prophets.[54]

Beyond the narrative purpose, however, the quotation has a broad Christological function as well. At this sub-narrative level, Matthew makes use of the composite quotation to elucidate the eschatological events that he believed have unfolded in his lifetime.[55]

In order to bring out this Christological function, it is necessary to briefly rehearse the context of Zechariah 13:7 in the Bible. Zechariah 13:7 is taken from a discrete passage whose limits are 13:7–9. The unit has a poetic design that sets it apart from the previous section[56] and consists of three statements. The first concerns the death of the Shepherd-King (13:7a), the second the scattering of the flock (13:7b) and the third: purification and restoration of the remnant of insignificant ones who remained in the Land (13:7c-9).

The poem is written as divine speech (note the two phrases: נְאֻם יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת in 13:7 and נְאֻם יְהוָה in 13:8) in which YHWH calls on the sword to arise "against my shepherd" (עַל־רֹעִי). The grammar of 13:7 (with the imperative followed by the imperfect[57]) suggests that the scattering of the flock (וּתְפוּצֶיןָ הַצֹּאן) was the intended result of YHWH's command to "strike the shepherd".[58] Once the flock is scattered, YHWH states that he will turn his hand upon the

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53 Carson 1995:540; cf. also Davies and Allison 1997:486; Hagner 1995:776; Ham 2005:83; Hare 1993:299; Luz 2002:125; Meier 1980:321; Patte 1987:365; Schlatter 1959:746.
54 Cf. Luz 2002:125; Patte 1987:365.
55 Chae's (2004:293–94) conclusion that the emphasis of Matthew 26:31 is on plight and solution of Israel's Exile such that "the event of Jesus" death as the smitten shepherd would precede the process of the promised restoration according to the pattern of the Davidic shepherd tradition" is resonate with what I am arguing here. However, Chae seems to spiritualise this restoration and, thus, his conclusions differ considerably from my own. In this way, he does not adequately consider the geographical implications of the promise of 26:32 noted above.
56 Meyers and Meyers 1993:404; Ollenburger 1996:833; Petersen 1995:128.
57 See text-form discussion below.
58 See discussion in ch. 2 above. The "shepherd" is a *crux interpretum*, according to Meyers, and has been interpreted in various ways. What is uncontested is the fact that the shepherd in this context is a political ruler of some type, although the image of the shepherd in Zechariah is not necessarily uniform (cf. Petersen 1995:130).

הַצֹּעֲרִים (13:7c), presumably referring to those left in the Land who will be divided into thirds (13:8). The one-third which was not destroyed YHWH will put "through fire" (בָּאֵשׁ) in order to "refine" (צְרַפְתִּים) and "test" (בְחַנְתִּים) them (13:9a). The result of this refinement will be a renewed relationship between the people and YHWH (13:9b) and the arrival of God's Empire that will be centred in Jerusalem and reach to the ends of the earth (14:1–21).

In view of the context of Zechariah 13:7–9, Matthew makes use of the composite quotation of Zechariah 13:7/Ezekiel 34:31 in order to highlight the role Jesus of Nazareth plays in the establishment of the territorial kingdom of Israel in the *eschaton*. Matthew identifies Jesus as the ποιμήν of Zechariah 13:7 and the τὰ πρόβατα τῆς ποίμνης as the citizens of his Messianic Empire. Then Matthew asserts that YHWH has chosen to slay his king and disperse the citizens of the kingdom as the *means* of preparing Israel for the establishment of the eschatological kingdom. Central to the passage, therefore, is a political theme: the preparation of a nucleus of Israel people and the Land for the eschatological Empire of YHWH.

Matthew affirms that Jesus is the long awaited Shepherd-King whose death was predicted by the prophets – far from tragic and unexpected. Jesus' death and resurrection has inaugurated the judgement upon Israel; the purpose of the judgement is purifying, atoning and redemptive.[59] From an ancient Jew-

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59 Consonant with the view espoused here of the purifying and atoning nature of both Jesus' death and Israel's consequent judgement is the recent argument of Hamilton (2005) concerning the "blood of the innocents" in ancient Judaism and Matthew. In her unpublished SBL paper she examined the theme of innocent blood in the Passion Narrative (Matt 27:25). In a very learned discussion, she argued that the widespread belief that Israel's guilt and exile was due to its history of shedding innocent blood stands behind Matthew's Passion Narrative. According to ancient Judaism, Israel's land was defiled and polluted and in need of purgation (cf. Hamilton 2005:3–4 with e.g. Lev 18:25–28; Ezek 22:15; 24:6, 11–13; legend of Zechariah's death in *b. Sanh.* 96b; *b. Git.* 57b; *Eccl. Rab.* 3:16; 10:4; *Liv. Pro.* Zechariah son of Jehoiada; see also Josephus, *J.W.* 5:391–413). This purgation in the Zechariah legend (cf. also Matt 23:35) centred on the catastrophe of Jerusalem's destruction: "The sin of the people in all these texts can be summed up in the shedding of innocent blood; by this blood the Land is defiled and devastation comes upon the city" (2005:13). Hamilton (2005:13) argues, "[Matthew] by connecting it [Jesus' death] to the blood of Zechariah [Jesus' death being the final in the long history of innocent blood shed], suggests that the same concept of bloodguilt and pollution, the defilement of the land and its purging, informs the Passion Narrative". In Hamilton's view (2005:16), Matthew believes that the Holy God cannot live in the midst of pollution, and the innocent blood that is not expiated renders the land barren, drives the Lord from the temple, and leaves the nation naked before its enemies. In Pilate's hand-washing [a possible allusion to the ceremony in Deut 21:6–9], Matthew calls up this paradigm, the history of a holy God, the people and the land, and the history of the land's defilement. The consequence of this connection is the belief that the destruction of Jerusalem is (will be) justified: "There is no quick fix, no miraculous escape ... for the people in the polluted land ... Like the land infected with *hamas* ... [it] can only be destroyed". However, and more importantly, the ultimate consequence is redemptive: "In the severe paradigm of innocent blood ... there is still room for hope, hope for a people and a polluted land ... the ancient hope of Israel for restoration ... destruction and re-creation come together" (2005:17–18). She (2005:19) concludes,

ish perspective what is unexpected here, perhaps among other things, is the fact that not only is the judgement inaugurated, but, as this pericope hints, so also is the kingdom in some sense present through the resurrection of Jesus and the formation of his Messianic community (cf. 26:32; 28:16–20). The First Gospel portrays the period of Israel's refinement and the restoration of Israel's kingdom as concomitant in the latter part of this Present Age. However, Matthew still sees the consummation of the kingdom, essentially the fulfilment of Ezekiel 34's idyllic restoration, *as yet future*. The kingdom will be consummated at the *parousia* at the end of the Age (cf. Matt 28:20).

The Shepherd-King, then, has a dual role in the eschatological kingdom according to Matthew. He is not only the one who will govern over the kingdom at its consummation (cf. Matt 2:6//Micah 5:2; 2 Sam 5:2; Zech 12:4–8), but he has also inaugurated the prerequisite refinement of the nation of Israel through his death (cf. 1:21; 26:28).

5.2.3 Ancient Jewish Usage

A reference to Zechariah 13:7 in ancient Jewish sources appears only in the Damascus Document: CD-B 19:7–9 where it too seems to refer to a slain founding leader. It turns up in a unit described by scholars as the "Warnings" and comes at the end of the "Admonition" section;[60] see the text in table 2 below.

7	בבוא הדבר אשר כתוב ביד זכריה הנביא חרב עורי על
8	רועי ועל גבר עמיתי נאם אל הך את הרעה ותפוצינה הצאן
9	והשיבותי ידי על הצוערים: והשומרים אותו המ עני הצאן
7	when there comes the word which is written by the hand of the prophet Zechariah: "*Wake up, sword, against*
8	*my shepherd, and against the man who is my companion – oracle of God – strike the shepherd, and the flock may scatter,*
9	*and I will turn my hand against the little ones"*. Those who revere him are the poor ones of the flock.[61]

Table 2. CD-B 19:7–9[62]

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"Matthew's theodicy is the theodicy of the prophets and the rabbis, who see in the city's devastation the expiation of a defiled land, and the final mercy of God".

60   Cf. Charlesworth 1995:5; cf. also VanderKam and Flint (2002:216), who in their recent introduction have labelled the unit "The Exhortation".

61   DSS translation taken from García Martínez 1996

62   Questionable letters have not been noted, although the text is quite certain; cf. Charlesworth 1995:30.

CD-B's use of Zechariah 13:7 provides an important parallel to Matthew 27:31. By means of a Pesher-like interpretation, the author of CD-B, not unlike Matthew, seemed to believe that Zechariah 13:7 provided information for the understanding of God's visitation in the last days – days in which he and his Community understood themselves to be living. The writer found in the quotation an eschatological description for the *mid-point* of God's eschatological visitation. While the point is still debated, it seems likely that the author of CD-B believed that what the shepherd referred to in the prophecy of Zechariah 13:7 was the Teacher of Righteousness whose death had initiated another stage in the unfolding of redemptive history. This history, according to the author, would culminate in the advent of the Messiah from Aaron and Israel and the restoration of the kingdom of Israel.[63]

What is more, the references to the "flock" and the "little ones" in Zechariah were taken by the author to refer to the members of his Community whom God would spare from the final judgement, although they were still to endure the "age of wrath" (CD 20:15–16). Those who did not enter the new covenant in Damascus and thus remained in Judah (cf. CD 4:3; 6:5) would suffer the wrath of God along with the Gentile rulers with whom they were in league (cf. CD 19:21–22). More significantly for the writer, however, is the fact that those members of the Community who did not remain faithful would suffer the same fate. For this reason, the author of the "Admonition" warns members to "remain steadfast in these regulations" (20:27).

Although the Gospel of Matthew makes much more out of the death of Jesus than CD-B makes out of the death of the Teacher of Righteousness, what is striking is the similarity in the stages of the eschatological scheme. Of course, the Gospel tradition develops the two-stage scheme much further since in its tradition Jesus is both the slain harbinger and the end-time Messiah. Yet CD-B and Matthew do share the view that the time between the death of the eschatological figure and the arrival of Messiah at the end of the age is a period of judgement and unprecedented testing for true Israel. During this time of testing, Israel will be refined and prepared for entrance into the restored kingdom of Israel. In addition, the use of Zechariah 13:7 by both CD and Matthew to scripturally justify the death of their founding figure may suggest that such a move was the natural one to make in the Jewish milieu of first-century Palestine.

A political-national interpretation of Zechariah 13:7 is also visible in the Targum especially when compared with the MT. As noted above, the Targum makes significant alterations to the MT. The most significant will be briefly highlighted in the table below.

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63   See likewise Ham 2005:75.

MT	Targum
חֶרֶב עוּרִי עַל־רֹעִי וְעַל־גֶּבֶר עֲמִיתִי נְאֻם יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת הַךְ אֶת־הָרֹעֶה וּתְפוּצֶיןָ הַצֹּאן וַהֲשִׁבֹתִי יָדִי עַל־הַצֹּעֲרִים	חרבא אתגלא על מלכא ועל שלטונא חבריה דכותיה דדמי ליה אמר יוי צבאות קטול ית מלכא ויתבדרון שלטוניא ואתיב מחת גבורתא על תנינייא

"Awake, O sword, against my shepherd, against the man who stands next to me", declares the LORD of hosts. Strike the shepherd, and the sheep will be scattered; I will turn my hand against the little ones.

O Sword, <u>be revealed</u> against <u>the king</u> and against the <u>prince</u> his companion <u>who is his equal, who is like him</u>, says the Lord of hosts; Slay the <u>king</u>, and the <u>princes</u> shall be scattered and I will bring back a <u>mighty stroke</u> upon the <u>underlings</u>.

Table 3. Textual Comparison: Zechariah 13:7

First, the Targum substitutes the term מלכא ("king") for רֹעֶה in the two places it appears in 13:7. Related to this, the Targum has also rendered וּתְפוּצֶיןָ הַצֹּאן ("the flock will be scattered") with ויתבדרון שלטוניא ("the rulers will be scattered"). Another development is the rendering מחת גבורתא על תנינייא ("a mighty stroke upon the underlings") for יָדִי עַל־הַצֹּעֲרִים ("my hand against the little ones"). The term תנינייא has an idea of subordination and reflects the political context created by the terms "king" and "ruler". It seems that the term in this context refers to the "rulers" (שלטוניא) who are under the authority of the king and prince and have been scattered.

The Targum depicts YHWH calling the sword to reveal itself (*Itpaal* form) against two figures: the king and his prince, who is of equal stature (13:7a). YHWH commands the sword to strike the king so that the *princes*, his subordinates, will be scattered and suffer punishment under YHWH's "mighty stroke" and eventually those left will be purified, restored and the relationship with YHWH will be renewed (13:7b–9). Thus, the Targum *narrows* the scope of punishment to the *political* leaders of the people, the king and rulers.

5.3 The Synoptic Parallel to Matthew 26:31–32

While parallels to the prediction of Peter's denial appear in both Mark 14:26–31 and Luke 22:31–34, only Matthew and Mark share the reference to the slain shepherd and Zechariah 13:7. Though diverging at a few points,[64] Mark and Matthew share the same eschatological perspective on the events of Jesus' passion that are introduced and later narrated. M. Wilcox suggested that

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64   See Table 1 above for a textual comparison of the quotation as it appears in Mark and Matthew. Mark's version differs from Matthew's in two ways: (1) in word order, and (2) the phrase τῆς ποίμνης. For a list of other differences cf. Hagner 1995:776.

Zechariah 13:7 in Mark 14:27b is cited "as part of a wider context" with "eschatological overtones" and, therefore, is a "keynote passage for the whole following section".[65] J. Marcus, building on Wilcox's argument, has demonstrated the whole of Zechariah 9–14 as providing the background for the pericope.[66] He asserts that Mark has not only received traditions influenced by the eschatological context of Zechariah 9–14, but he has also developed his received traditions further to align with the eschatological outlook.[67] Further, J. Muddiman has recently stated this point with force:

> The evangelist found in the Zechariah prophecy a key to his interpretation of the passion as a whole: the Shepherd-Messiah, smitten by God himself, would rise from the dead and gather his scattered flock in Galilee.[68]

Given our assumption of Markan priority, one could say that Matthew has at the very least developed the eschatological orientation of Zechariah 9–14 beyond his received tradition.

Matthew's eschatological development beyond Mark is evident in the two ways already discussed above: (1) Matthew's addition of the genitive phrase τῆς ποίμνης, and (2) the geographical link between Matthew 26:32 and 28:16–20. Matthew's developments of his Markan source seem to reveal a heightened interest in the Land of Israel.

5.4 The Shepherd-King in Matthew 26:31

The purpose of this study of Matthew 26:31 was to gain an understanding of Matthew's use of the Shepherd-King motif. Consistent with the earlier chapters of Part 2 the first step of the investigation was to confirm the presence of the motif in the passage. I asserted that the pericope within which the quotation appears inhabits a political-national setting where the political elites of Israel in conjunction with Rome's retainers ultimately reject Israel's Messiah. Nonetheless, the small band of Jewish disciples, with the Eleven at the core, forms the nucleus of Israel's future restoration in the Promised Land.

In the next stage of the study, I argued that the quotation, which is typically considered singularly from Zechariah 13:7 with a possible allusion to Ezekiel 34:31, is better understood as a composite quotation. Further, the addition of the phrase from Ezekiel 34:31 intensifies the territorial aspect of the expectation of the slain Shepherd-King contained in Zechariah. Moreover, this territorial intensification supports Matthew's larger narrative purpose envis-

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65　Wilcox 1971:430–31; cf. also Evans 1954:8.
66　Marcus 1993:154–64; Muddiman 2003:101.
67　Cf. Marcus 1993:163–64.
68　Muddiman 2003:101.

aged in his linking of 26:32 with 28:16. This link, as Stuhlmacher argued, has in view "*the eschatological restoration of Greater Israel*".[69]

The bi-referential nature of the composite quotation was described and the Christological function was emphasised. Matthew uses the citation to reveal Jesus' role as the Shepherd-King in the establishment of the kingdom of Israel, the kingdom of the Father. Jesus' death and the subsequent dispersion of the flock is the means by which a segment of the nation, a remnant, will be refined and prepared for entrance into the eschatological kingdom at the return of Jesus the Messiah at the end of the age.

I conclude, from this investigation, that Matthew's use of the Shepherd-King motif in Matthew 26:31–32 is consistent with what has been observed in chapters 3 and 4: it rings with real political substance, and its function here mirrors the citation: Matthew uses it to express the role Jesus, the Davidic son, has in preparing Israel for the kingdom that will appear at the end of the age.

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69   Stuhlmacher 2000:27, emphasis his.

The Messianic Shepherd-King
and the Land-Kingdom Motif:
Matthew's Hope for Terriorial Restoration

"And leaving Nazareth he went and lived in Capernaum by the sea,
in the territory of Zebulun and Naphtali"
Matthew 4:13

In the previous three chapters of part 2, I have contended in various ways that Matthew's Gospel evinces a hope for Israel's territorial restoration. It was shown, through my examination of Matthew's use of Jewish scriptural texts, that central to Matthew's application of the Messianic Shepherd-King motif was the territorial restoration of political-national Israel. What is more, this territorial expectation will play a fundamental role in my interpretation of "the lost sheep of the house of Israel" phrase considered later in chapters 7 and 8 in part 3.

A proposal suggesting that Matthew not only preserved, but also *promulgated* the traditional Jewish hope for territorial restoration will probably strike many as verging on the preposterous.[1] Such a reaction is warranted given the fact that it is axiomatic today to assume that Matthew in particular and the New Testament in general has very little if any concern for the abiding nature of Israel's land grant (cf. Gen 12:1–2; 15:18–21) and the restoration of the territorial Land of Israel. This consensus is easily found in the recent works of W. D. Davies, D. Holwerda, P. Walker, N. T. Wright and most standard Matthean commentaries.[2] Indeed, in his recent doctoral dissertation, which

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1 A recent trend in Historical Jesus studies suggests that New Testament scholars are beginning to rethink the place of the Land in early Christianity; see e.g. Freyne 2001, 2004; Pitre 2006; Wenell 2004.

2 Davies 1974, 1991; Holwerda 1995:105–06; Walker 2000, 1992; Wright 1996. For commentaries see, e.g., Carson 1995:133–34; Carter 2000:133; Davies and Allison 1988:450–51; Gnilka 1986:123; Grundmann 1968:126; Gundry 1994:69; Hagner 1993:92; Hare 1993:39; Harrington 1991:79; Lohmeyer and Schmauch 1956:86; Luz 2002:283; Meier 1980:40; Sabourin 1976:376; see the possible contrastingly view of Bonnard 1963:56–57: "*Hériter la terre*: expression juive classique; ceux qui avaient manqué de tout ne manqueront plus de

claims to have been commenced as a corrective to W. D. Davies's views es-
poused in *The Gospel and the Land*, J.-S. Kim concludes: "Even the Gospel of
Matthew, which is the most Jewish-Christian in character among the New Tes-
tament documents, shows very little concern for the fulfillment of the promise
of the Land".[3]

   In spite of consensus, I contend that the established opinion discounts or
ignores important evidence. On the one hand, there is evidence gleaned from
ancient Judaism that is either recently discovered or only recently appreciated.
On the other hand, there is evidence from Matthew's Gospel itself, not only
from the passages considered in this part of the thesis, but also other texts that
do not easily fit into the prevailing hypothesis. What is more, these oversights
have allowed inadequate readings of Matthew to continue to circulate unabated
– readings, I might add, which *preclude* out of hand any suggestion of an abid-
ing Jewish conviction for territorial restoration.

   Although it is not possible to defend such a claim in detail in this chapter,
briefly I wish to: (1) reflect critically on the *status quaestionis*, (2) rehearse the
emerging consensus about Messianic expectations of a restored Land in an-
cient Judaism, and (3) offer a fresh hypothesis of the kingdom of God in Mat-
thew's Gospel, which argues for the presence of a Land-Kingdom motif. Fur-
ther, given the presence of Land-Kingdom motif, Matthew may have
harboured an enduring belief in the land promise to Israel. The intention of this
discussion is to expose cracks in the consensus view and make room for a
reading of Matthew that maintains a place for the promise of the Land.

6.1 An Evaluation of the Status Quaestionis

Kim's recent dissertation noted above, which was successfully defended at
Princeton Theological Seminary, affirmed Davies's basic conclusion: "Mat-
thew shows little concern for the fulfillment of the Land after 70 C.E."[4] Al-
though I hinted above that Kim has misinterpreted Matthew's view of the
promise of the Land, he has, nevertheless, significantly moved the discussion
forward by avowing a correlation of *the Land and the kingdom*. In this way, he
is right to expose the lacuna in research in both the Jewish Scriptures and the
New Testament that has neglected the exploration of the link between the Land
and the kingdom. This is especially surprising (or perhaps revealing) since as
Kim rightly puts it: "the land motif is consonant to the 'realm' aspect of the

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      rien. Relevons l'accent terrestre, concret de la beatitude (cf. Ps. 37.11). Cet *héritage* leur sera
      remis gratuitement par Dieu".
3   Kim 2001:275.
4   Kim 2001:2–3, 279, 289.

kingdom of God".[5] In other words, one cannot be said to have satisfactorily addressed the issue of the kingdom of God without at least some discussion about the question of Land.

Yet, insofar as Kim's exegesis of Matthew's Gospel is reflective of much of Matthean scholarship on the question of the Land and the kingdom, his work is open to criticism. Thus, the weaknesses in his exegetical arguments, as they correlate to more broadly held opinions, may give room for suggesting the presence of an abiding Jewish hope for the restoration of the territory of Israel in the First Gospel. While Kim cannot be said to represent all of scholarship on the issue, it seems appropriate, given that it is a recent attempt to defend the consensus view, to take his thesis as the most recent example of the *status quaestionis*. Further, since in the end, he affirms the general tenor of Davies's view, which is today axiomatic, a brief evaluation of Kim's exegesis of Matthew seems to get at the heart of the issue.

Kim believes Matthew's lack of interest in the Promised Land in a post-A.D. 70 setting is based on three points: Matthew (1) believes that Christ is the fulfilment of the Old Testament promises, (2) is preoccupied with legitimating the Gentile mission, and (3) views the loss of the Land as a judgement upon Israel's rejection of Christ. These three points are hardly new or fresh contributions to Matthean studies. In fact, the points are the warp and woof of Matthean theology.[6] In many respects this thesis amounts to not much more than a reshuffling of well-worn ideas with an old-fashioned tack; and, yet, with the expectation a new outcome will result. Two basic criticisms of Kim's thesis should at least begin to expose the fault lines in the consensus interpretation of the promise of the Land in the First Gospel.

First, as with other interpreters who espouse the consensus view, Kim does not adequately deal with the full scope of evidence in Matthew that could contribute to a more robust understanding of Matthew's view of the Land. Remarkably, for example, a detailed exegetical discussion of Matthean texts is completely absent from Davies.[7] His discussion of Matthew and Mark in chapter 8 of *The Gospel and the Land* "sheds little light on how Matthew dealt with God's promise of the Land to Israel", since his chapter is devoted to refuting Lohmeyer, Lightfoot and Wieder. These authors while holding quite differing views, share the perspective that Galilee has a territorial importance in the Gospel tradition.[8] For Kim, this seems to be the result of an imprecise method that led him to centre his investigation on only five passages: 2:13–23 (the two uses of γῆν Ἰσραήλ); 5:3–12 (Beatitudes); 6:9–13 (Lord's Prayer); 21:33–46

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5   Kim 2001:83.
6   See e.g. DeSilva 2004:244–67; Foster 2004: esp. 253–60; France 1989:206–41; Jeremias 1958; Luz 1995: esp. 30–37, 117–41; Olmstead 2003: esp. 161–64; Stanton 1993: esp. 378–83; Trilling 1964.
7   See Davies 1974:221–43.
8   See Kim's (2001:278) warranted critique.

(parable of the Vineyard); 25:31–46 (judgement of the Shepherd-King).[9] On the one hand, one wonders why some passages are not present, such as 2:6 or 4:15–16 or 19:28 or 26:31–32/28:16. On the other hand, one might query why he includes passages such as 21:33–46 and 25:31–46. While the latter texts may very well be significant texts for the study – and I do in fact think they are – Kim needed to do a far better job defining and defending their inclusion.

It could also be asked why he did not address in detail the genealogy with its schematic focus on David, the Babylonian captivity and the Messiah's appearance. While the weaknesses mentioned here might be unique to Kim's method, he is certainly not alone in these oversights. The fact of the matter is Kim should be commended for even taking up the question in the first place, since it is largely ignored by scholars today. Outside of Kim's work, I know of no other project that has addressed the question of the Land promise in Matthew since Davies.

Secondly, in spite of the wealth of recent research in ancient Judaism that has opened new interpretive directions, Kim's exegesis of individual passages is informed by the age-old supersessionist presuppositions. When Kim's discussions of passages are considered carefully, it should surprise no one that he comes to the same old conclusions. Two examples will suffice to prove the point. The first can be found in Kim's handling of Matthew 5:5, the Beatitude: "Blessed are the meek, for *they shall inherit the land*" (κληρονομήσουσιν τὴν γῆν). Kim reckons, almost disappointingly, that "it may be difficult to disengage the verse from the territorial promise of the OT and Judaism" in light of the direct allusion to Psalm 37:11 and a parallel logion in the *Didache* 3:7: the former is clearly focused on *Eretz Israel* and the latter states: "Be meek, since the meek will inherit the *holy land*". Thus, he states, "the term τὴν γῆν has such this-worldly connotation that Matt 5:5 might refer to the inheritance of the promised Land ... [it] may refer to inheriting the Land of Israel in a transformed world, in the Messianic age or the age to come".[10]

Despite these clear territorial indications, however, Kim is content to follow G. Strecker's view and spiritualise the term, since as he confidently asserts without defence: "the traditional promise of the Land has long been transposed into the cosmic realm".[11] So the phrase "to inherit the Land" *actually* means: "inheriting the conditions under the rule of God in a spiritual sense".[12] While this is an exegetical possibility, I do not see how a spiritualised "land" is the natural and straightforward implication of the logion in this context such that

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9   Kim 2001:142.
10   Kim 2001:195.
11   Kim 2001:196–97.
12   Kim 2001:196; see the similarly the recent comment by Dunn (2003:512, emphasis added): "Although Matthew *probably* took the beatitude's promise in a *spiritual sense*, we should at least be aware of the underlying strand of thought: *in some sense 'the meak' would enjoy the fulfilment of the ancient covenant promise to Israel's patriarchs*".

no argument is required. Again, while I have focused on Kim's exegesis, his position is hardly an anomaly.[13]

Another illustration of supersessionist presuppositions informing Kim's exegesis is his discussion of Matthew 21:43: "Therefore I tell you, *the kingdom of God* (ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ) will be taken away from you and given to a *people* (ἔθνει) producing its fruits". Here he propagates the common conclusion that with the climactic statement of 21:43 Matthew's Jesus rejected Israel as God's people and replaced them with the church. He assumes that the "vineyard" represents the "Land" and then by analogy the kingdom. So, just as the land was taken from the tenants in the parable, the kingdom of God is now taken from Israel.[14] Although Kim's interest in correlating the Land with the kingdom here seems right, he wrongly assumes that the "vineyard" represents only the "Land" and not the people of the Land as well. From the Isaianic background of the parable (Isa 5:1–5), however, the figure of the "vineyard" seems to imply both the Land and the people: "Israel in miniature",[15] while the tenants are an additional entity within the parable – distinct from the vineyard.

While there remain many faithful adherents to the traditional reading,[16] several scholars have recently called this familiar interpretation into question. Taking as their point of departure the use of Isaiah 5 in ancient Jewish exegesis, for example 4Q500, they contend that Jesus does not state that the "vineyard" will be replaced, but the "tenants" of the vineyard. Read this way, the emphasis is not on Israel (both people and land), which is pictured by the vineyard, but on Israel's leaders. Thus, the replacement is not Israel for the church, but the government of Israel's present leaders for the government of the Messiah and his Jewish disciples.[17]

The preceding discussion has sufficed to show that Kim's exegesis of the Matthean passages in question reflects the familiar supersessionist or replacement paths travelled by scholars of the First Gospel for centuries, perhaps millennia.[18] Further, while not indicative of all scholarship on the issue, especially the more recent trend, Kim's approach reflects the prevailing assumptions of a majority of commentators such that it can easily serve as a summary of the state of the question.

One should be aware, however, that well-worn paths do not happen by accident, and are often the result of proper judgement and good sense. So blazing

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13 See Betz 1995:127–28; Davies 1974:359–62. Most commentators opt for an understanding of the term γῆ which transcends *Eretz Israel*; for example see Davies and Allison 1988:450–51; Grundmann 1968:126; Gundry 1994:69; Hagner 1993:93; Luz 2002:283.
14 Kim 2001:224.
15 See Brooke 1995:294
16 See e.g. recently Olmstead 2003:89–95.
17 See e.g. Bockmuehl 2004:21–22; Brooke 1995; Evans 1984; Overman 1996:302–04; Saldarini 1994:58–63; and most recently Duling 2005.
18 See similarly Augustine's (1997:94–95) *On Christian Teaching*, 3:114–15.

one's own trail must be done only with serious thought and caution. Yet, in the case of the presence of an abiding promise of Land for Israel in Matthew, a significant aspect of Matthew's theological richness has been hidden from view by arguments that do not stand up against careful analysis.

6.2 The Ancient Jewish Expectation of Territorial Restoration[19]

Matthean specialists have paid little attention in recent years to the flurry of recent research on ancient Jewish eschatological expectations of a restored territory. Perhaps this is due to the formative views of Davies considered above, who, although arguing for widespread Jewish territorial hope, denied its existence in Matthew and the New Testament. This denial, along with others, has played a significant role in the formation of Gospel and New Testament presuppositions. Yet, on the former point, it is widely accepted today that an expectation of territorial restoration was in the air in first-century Palestine.[20]

Various recent studies have more than demonstrated that although Jewish beliefs about the Promised Land were variegated in the first century, there was a fundamental conviction that YHWH not only owned the Land, but also inviolably granted it to his people Israel.[21] Further, it was widely believed that both the occupation and loss of sovereignty and the dispersion were the direct result not of YHWH's unfaithfulness, but Israel's. Davies has convincingly argued that even where ancient Jewish sources are silent about the Land, especially in the literature related to the Maccabean revolt and its ensuing Hasmonean dynasty, this should not be understood as a lack of interest or concern about the Land. The more ethical and religious concerns of observant Jews during this period cannot be separated from the fact that they believed fundamentally that faithfulness to Torah and the purity of the Temple were the means by which the Land was secured for the future.[22]

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19   I depended heavily on the works of the following authors in researching this section of the chapter: Alexander 1974; Bockmuehl 2003:61–70; Davies 1974; Hengel 2000; Riesner 2002: 84.
20   This point was the major contribution of Part I of Davies work and has found wide acceptance among scholars of ancient Judaism and early Christianity.
21   Davies 1974:157.
22   See Davies (1991:44–46): "The occupation of The Land presupposed loyalty to the Torah, which was a form of loyalty to The Land. Torah and Land are, if not inextricable, closely related. The threat to the Torah was in a tangible, though indirect, sense a threat to The Land. And when Israel actually dwelt in The Land, as in the Maccabean and Roman periods, the explicit concentration was naturally on the former, the Torah ... How, then, shall we assess the role of the loyalty to The Land in the Maccabean and Zealot revolts? Despite the silence of the sources, it cannot be doubted that the loyalty was a primary axiom for the rebels ... But it was unexpressed, too, because in both revolts it took a religious form".

Recent studies of Second Temple and early Rabbinic views on the dimensions of the Promised Land seem to further strengthen this scholarly consensus. The various sources seem to point to the conclusion that many first-century Palestinian Jews conceived *Eretz Israel* not in the narrowly defined geopolitical borders of Israel in the Second Temple period,[23] but as encompassing the utopian borders that were originally promised to Abraham and Moses and allotted to the tribes of Israel under Joshua, although never fully acquired by Israel in their history.[24] The northern border of the ideal Promised Land, which is of primary interest for our study of Matthew, is said to extend from the Great Sea to Mt. Hor, and then to Lebo-Hamath, and on through Zedad and Ziphron to Hazar-enan.[25]

The Davidic Empire's borders, although falling short of the ideal vision, were nonetheless the most expansive manifestation of the territory of Israel in its history. They are said to have extended from the city of Tiphsah on the Great Bend of the Euphrates to Gaza on the southern border,[26] with the northern border of the Davidic Kingdom possibly extending as far as Sidon.[27] Y. Aharoni has described the complex administrative structure of this vast Empire:

> [There are] three main elements ... discernible within it: the Israelite population; conquered kingdoms; and vassal kings. At the center of the Empire stood the tribes of Israel and Judah, to which were appended the Canaanite-Amorite regions brought under David's control. Around these lay the conquered and tributary kingdoms: Edom, Moab, Ammon, Aram-damascus, and Aram-zobah.[28]

The ideal borders of Israel were again explicitly affirmed at the time of the Exile by Ezekiel in his vision of the restoration of Israel and Judah and in a twelve-tribe league.[29] In addition, Zechariah 9:1–8 speaks of YHWH's militant appearance, which precedes the entrance of the restoration of the Davidic Kingdom, at the ideal borders of Israel.[30] K. Deurloo notes that, according to

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23 For the description of the Herodian borders see Josephus *Ant.* 15:217, 343, 360; *War* 1:396, 398, 400; for the post-Herodian division of the Land see *Ant.* 17:317–21; *War* 2:93–98.
24 Gen 15:18 (cf. 49:13); Exod 23:31; Num 13:21; 34:7–9; Deut 1:7–8; 11:24; 34:1–3; 34:8; Josh 1:4; 13:1–6; Judges 3:3; Ezek 47:15–17; 48:1. For discussions of the dimensions of the utopian ideal see also Aharoni 2000:80; Bockmuehl 2003:62; Scott 2005:182–208; Wazana 2003; Weinfeld 1983, 1993.
25 Num 34:7–9; Josh 13:5; Judges 3:3; Ezek 47:15; 48:1; Zech 9:2–3.
26 1 Kings 4:24; cf. also 2 Sam 8:1–14; 24:5–7; 1 Kings 4:21; 8:65; 2 Kings 14:25; 1 Chron 13:5; 2 Chron 7:8; 9:26; Amos 6:14.
27 The Davidic census (cf. 2 Sam 24:5–7) explicitly includes Sidon and Tyre implying that they were considered to be within the territory of Israel. For a convincing argument in favour of this view see Kallai 1986:37–39, 212–14; for an alternative view see Aharoni 1979:238; Na'aman 1986:50–55. For a more detailed discussion of Davidic census and the borders of the Davidic-Solomonic Empire see ch. 8 of this thesis.
28 Aharoni 2000:79–80.
29 Ezek 47:15–17; 48:1.
30 See also Deurloo 2002:57.

Zechariah, YHWH has set his sights on all the tribes of Israel (9:1), but especially the North as Ephraim is drawn back as an arrow on YHWH's bow, Judah (9:13).[31]

In Hellenistic-Roman times, at least two forces exercised influence on Palestinian Jews which resulted in expansive conceptions of Israel's borders. The first was the Davidic geopolitical ideal which was fuelled by Messianic expectations. From an exploration of the literature of the Second Temple period, M. Hengel has concluded that the Davidic Empire was used "as a *model* and above all determined the geography of messianic expectations".[32] Through the unity of the restored Israel "Greater Judea" was expected to "comprise the Roman province of Syria" in the Messianic Age: "the greater Judea hoped for in messianic times, was transferred *pars pro toto* or *a parte potiori* to all of Syria".[33] J. Scott has suggested that one may find this Davidic-Solomonic territorial ideal even in *Jubilees*, which is not known for its Messianic expectations.[34] Further, M. Bockmuehl has suggested that the Jewish expansions in the Hasmonean period may reflect the "idea of the restoration of the Jewish land".[35] And apparently Josephus also had an expansive view of Israel's Land as is expressed in *Ant.* 1:134–42, 185; 2:194–95; 4:300; *J.W.* 2:452–480; 3:35–38.[36]

This perspective is seen in the fragments of Eupolemus's account of "the Kings of Israel" which have been preserved by Eusebius.[37] Eupolemus is believed to have lived during the early Hasmonean period and is credited with an account of the imperial history of Israel based on the royal ideology of 2 Samuel and 1 Kings. In his depiction of the conquests of David and Solomon he lists conquered peoples who include Judah's second-century B.C. neighbours, the Ituraeans, Idumaeans and Nabataeans:

> Then David, his son, assumed power. He subdued the Syrians dwelling by the river Euphrates in the region of Commagene and the Assyrians in Galadene and the Phoenicians; he fought against the Idumaeans, the Ammonites, the Moabites, the Ituraeans, the Nabateans and the Nabdaeans.[38] S. Freyne asserts that the mention of

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31   Deurloo 2002:57.
32   Hengel 2000:171, emphasis added.
33   Hengel 2000:172, 178; cf. 1QapGen 21:11–12; *Jub.* 14:18. This conception is parallel with the biblical formula "from the Euphrates ... to the border of Egypt" (1 Kings 5:1), which extends the kingdom of David and Solomon over all of Syria; cf. discussions in Fritz 2000:15–19; Scott 2005:197–98. For more on the boundaries of the Davidic Empire see ch. 8 of this thesis.
34   Scott 2005:175.
35   Bockmuehl 2003:63–64; see similarly Freyne 2001:300–01, 2004:79; Hengel 2000a.
36   Bockmuehl 2003:63–64; Hengel 2000a.
37   Eupolemus 30:3–5 (in Fallon 1985:866). See similarly Mendels 1987:35–36; Wacholder 1974:138.
38   Fallon 1985:866; cf. similarly Josephus *Ant.* 7.100–104.

these suggests that Eupolemus held to the hope that "Israel can once again rule the nations in an enlarged land".[39]

Complementing the eschatological expectations, secondly, P. Alexander has argued that the Targumists's exegetical conviction of the unity of Scripture led to the practice of harmonization of biblical texts.[40] When confronted by the differing description of *Eretz Israel* in the Bible,[41] the Targumists harmonized the descriptions because, according to their viewpoint, they must all be depictions of the same thing. Alexander notes that the main outcome of this practice was to "read into Num 34 much wider boundaries than that text really contains".[42] For example, the Targumim interpret Numbers 34:5 as referring to the "Nile" (נחלה מצרים) and Numbers 34:8 (חמת) as Syrian "Antioch", which lies south of the Taurus-Amanus mountains.[43] Further, Ezekiel 47, according to Alexander, also played an important role in the Targumic formation of the border descriptions.[44] In addition, Scott has recently argued that *Jubilees*, not unlike the Targumim and the *Genesis Apocryphon* (1QapGen 21:15–19), located the extreme northern limits of *Eretz* Israel as far as the natural boundary of the Amanus Mountains at a town called Hamath (*Jub*. 10:33).[45]

That these descriptions and expectations of the ideal borders were no mere academic exercise or flight of fancy is seen by the fact that they had *halakic* consequences for observant Jews in first-century Palestine.[46] For example, Scott suggests the issue of the precise boundaries of the Land was important to the author of *Jubilees*, because, among other things, its emphasis on proper Torah observance and concern for the threat of uncleanness.[47]

In addition, two examples can be found in Mishnah *Ḥallah*. The first is related to the dough offerings and tithes from Syria,[48] while the other concerns offerings brought to Jerusalem from Syria. In the latter, one Ariston from Apamea brought an offering of first fruits to the Temple and was accepted on the principle that "he who owns land in Syria is like one who owns land in the

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39   Freyne 2004:79; see similarly Bockmuehl 2003:64; Hengel 2000:173–74.
40   See Alexander 1974:177. He also asserts that the traditions which reflect the widest vision of the Land are from the earliest stratum of the Palestinian Targum's formation and likely date before A.D. 70 (see Alexander 1974:247).
41   Note the two categories of descriptions of *Eretz Israel* in the Bible: (1) shorter descriptions: Gen 15:18–21; Exod 23:31; Deut 1:7; 11:24; Josh 1:3–4; (2) longer and more concise descriptions: Num 34; Josh 15:1–4; Ezek 47. See similarly Alexander 1974:177; Wazana 2003.
42   Alexander 1974:177.
43   Alexander 1974:181–83, 187, 203–07, 249.
44   *Jubilees* while accepting the expansive northern boundary, appears to have partially rejected the ideal borders of the restored Land outlined in Ezek 47:13–20, since they did not include the Transjordan; see Scott 2005:206, n. 114.
45   Scott 2005:194.
46   Cf. *m. Ḥal.* 4:11; *m. Šabb.* 6:2; *m. 'Abod. Zar.* 1:8; For a discussion of the potential *halakic* ramifications of the geographic Messianic expectation see Alexander 1974:247; Bockmuehl 2003:67–70; Hengel 2000; Stemberger 1983.
47   Scott 2005:182–87.
48   *M. Ḥal.* 4:7; cf. also Instone-Brewer 2004:370–71.

outskirts of Jerusalem".[49] While it is true that some Rabbinic literature has a much more ambiguous and restrained definition of the borders of the Land,[50] it appears this was a later tendency subsequent to the two Jewish revolts.[51] This change would be consistent with other changes in Rabbinic conceptions about the Land in the post-Bar-Kokhba era amongst the disciples of R. Aqiba.[52] However, prior to these colossal failures, in the last part of the late Second Temple period, it is conceivable that Messianic-nationalistic ambitions incited a tendency to imagine the borders of Israel in their most ideal expression.

A further indication of the presence of a territorial restoration expectation in first-century Palestine is the eschatological expectation of a Messianic appearance in the northern region of the ideal Land. R. Riesner has recently made a strong case for a pre-Christian Jewish hope that the final redemption would be inaugurated in Greater-Galilee.[53] Riesner's thesis consists of four main points: first, he notes the several rabbinic Midrashim that speak of the Messiah appearing in the north.[54] For example, *Lev. Rab.* 9:6 (1.T–X) states:

> ["Awake, O north wind"]: When the exiles who are located in the north will awake, they will come and make camp in the south ... When Gog, who is located in the north, will awake, he will come and fall in the south ... *When the king Messiah, who is now located in the north, will awake, he will come and rebuild the house of the sanctuary, which is located in the south.*[55]

In addition, *Song. Rab.* 4:8 (52:2:1.A–C) likewise speaks of a visitation in the north by the Messiah when the exiles, having been regathered, will sing as they cross into the very northern corner of *Eretz Israel*:

> Depart from the peak of Amana, [from the peak of Senir and Hermon, from the dens of lions, from the mountains of leopards]" ... When the exiles [returning to Zion when the Messiah brings them back] reach Taurus Munus, they are going to

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49   *M. Ḥul.* 4:11.
50   E.g. *b. Giṭ.* 44b; *Tg. Ps.-J.* to Num 34; cf. Bockmuehl 2003:67–68; Neubauer 1868:5–6.
51   See Bockmuehl's (2003:68) assertion that the Mishnah suggests a change in the official halakhic treatement of Syria and Antioch around the end of the first century; cf. similarly Hengel 2000:177.
52   See Gafni (1997:69) for his assertion that after the Bar-Kokhba revolt the Palestinian rabbis, disciples of R. Aqiba, developed an Judaea-centric perspective.
53   Riesner (2002:92–93) defends the view of E. Lohmeyer, albeit with significant revision, against the criticisms of Davies and Stemberger, that ideal Galilee includes not only the region containing Tyre and Sidon as well as Gaulanitis, Batanea, but also the trans-Jordan region of the Decapolis and even Pella in Perea. Further, Riesner criticised Stemberger for undervaluing Galilee as a theological symbol: "Bei aller berechtigten Kritik den Übertreibungen von Lohmeyer, Marxsen und L. E. Elliot-Binns hat Stemberger die Bedeutung von 'Galiläa' als theologischem Symbol unterschätzt". For discussion of "Greater Galilee" see similarly Meyers 1979:695; Riesner 1987:407.
54   See Riesner 2002:83–84.
55   Neusner 1997a:101, emphasis added.

say a Song. "And the nations of the world are going to bring them like princes to the Messiah.[56]

Second, Riesner suggests that the depictions of the victories of the Patriarchs on the northern borders of the Promised Land (e.g. *Genesis Apocryphon* [1QapGen 21:28–22:10]), could be understood by the authors to be referring to the Messianic redemption.[57] Riesner appeals, third, to a claim made by N. Wieder concerning the Qumran sect's flight to the "land of Damascus" (CD 6:5, 19; 7:15, 19; 8:21; 19:34; 20:12).[58] Wieder (and Riesner) argues that the sect "betook themselves to the land of Damascus in order to anticipate there the appearance of the Messiah, or, in general, the inauguration of the messianic drama".[59] Riesner's final argument for the existence of a pre-Christian Messianic expectation in the north is the so-called "dynasty" of Galilean Messiahs from the family of one named Hezekiah.[60] He suggests that a plausible basis for the strong Messianic activity in the region was the expectation of a Messianic appearance.

In summary, it appears that among many observant Palestinian Jews in the first century there was a widespread belief in the territorial restoration of Israel. It is true that beliefs about *Eretz Israel* were diverse, yet there is no evidence to suggest that these beliefs, however universally they were expressed, were ever untethered from the abiding conviction that YHWH had "granted" a particular territory to Israel;[61] a territory whose parameters extended to encompass not only the dimensions of the former Davidic Empire, but the entire

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56   Neusner 1997b:260. See Alexander (1974:204–05) who notes: "Mt Amanus [Taurus Munus] in the north ... was a fixed point of Rabbinic toponomy. It is very often mentioned as the northernmost limit of the Land of Israel"; see *b. Git.* 8a; *y. Ḥal.* 60a, line 38; *y. Šeb.* 36b (cf. Guggenheimer 2001, 2003 for Jer. Talmud); *t. Ter.* 2:12; *t. Ḥal.* 2:11; *m. Ḥal.* 4:8; *m. Šeb.* 6:1.
57   Riesner 2002:84–85; see similarly Wieder 1969:87.
58   Wieder 1962:1–12. See also Davies (1974:221–43) who spends his chapter on the "Land in Mark and Matthew" not discussing this theme per se, but attempting to rebut Wieder's thesis; see also Kim 2001:278; Stemberger 1974:426. Davies's strongest criticism against Wieder's hypothesis is his assertion that Jerusalem, not Damascus and the northern territory of the Land, is the focus of the eschatological drama, according to the ancient Jewish sources. However, Davies's critique is not fatal since Wieder does not deny or subvert the centrality of Jerusalem. The point is only that the eschatological drama *begins* in the north; see similarly Riesner 2002:87.
59   Wieder 1962:3; cf. Riesner 2002:85–86.
60   Riesner 2002:89–90; cf. similarly Mowinckel 1956:284; Stemberger 1974:425.
61   For example, Scott has pointed out that *Jubilees*, although applying the Abrahamic promise to the expectation of Israel's universal sovereignty over the whole earth, continues to have an expectation for a concrete, physical restoration of the Land of Israel: "Israel's universal sovereignty is directly connected with the expectation of the return and restoration of the Land" (cf. Scott 2005:166–77, 196). Note also that Philo while no doubt understanding the Land as a symbol of a transcendent order, retained the Messianic hope for Israel. This particular and universal dimension to his thinking about the *eschaton* is reflected in his royal eschatological figure in *Moses* 1:289–291; *Rewards* 93–97, and 163–72 and it implies a return to the Land and a political-national Empire for Israel (see Borgen 1992:567–69, 1997:265–81; Davies 1991:53; Scott 1995).

"land of Canaan", which was promised by YHWH, but never acquired. The conviction of territorial restoration is envisaged in the literature of ancient Judaism in various ways: (1) in the abiding conviction that YHWH owns the Land and he has given it as a special possession to Israel, (2) in the expansive conception of the ideal borders of *Eretz Israel* among many observant Jews, and (3) the expectation of the appearance of the Messiah in the northern region of the Land at the inauguration of the eschatological drama.

6.3 The Land-Kingdom Motif
and the Territory Restoration of Israel in Matthew

The first two sections were an attempt to clear off a ledge on which to erect a counter hypothesis by exposing cracks in the consensus view and by presenting a draft of the widespread, ancient Jewish belief in the territorial restoration of Israel. In this section, I now intend to sketch a fresh conception of the kingdom of God in the Matthew's Gospel that entails Israel's territorial restoration. This approach can be called fresh because it incorporates the "Land-Kingdom" motif, which, as will be seen presently, when appropriated by Matthew implies a hope of territorial restoration.[62] The subsequent hypothesis can be no more than an outline at this stage, which admittedly will require further work in the details.

The fact that very little attention has been paid to the correlation between the themes of the Land and the kingdom of God reveals something about the prevailing view of the kingdom in Matthean studies. Conceivably the reason most scholars have not thought to discuss the concept of the Land with the kingdom is because they bring a presupposition about the nature of the kingdom of God that by definition precludes any territorial aspects. It is true that the scholarly discussion concerning the meaning of the kingdom of God in the teaching of Jesus is complex and does not allow for easy characterisation. Yet, it is widely accepted by scholars that the "kingdom" in both Matthew, and the New Testament as a whole, denotes *primarily* the "dynamic" aspect of God's reign over against the idea of the kingdom as the "realm" of God's rule. According to these scholars, the kingdom of God is a *regionless* and universal entity which *transcends* the territorial and political. Furthermore, it is a "non-nationalistic" idea such that any relationship between the kingdom and the *Eretz Israel* is excluded.

However, such an assumption, on the one hand, seems to underplay the diversity of perspectives in the New Testament which themselves reflect the diversity of the Second-Temple Jewish milieu from which they arose (see dis-

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62   I have taken over the language of "Land-Kingdom" motif from Kim's study.

cussion below).[63] And, on the other hand, the *aterritorial* understanding of kingdom assumed today requires a division between the spheres of religion and politics that seems quite out of place in an ancient (or even modern) Jewish worldview. The arenas of politics and religion coalesced and were mutually encompassing to the extent that a statement about faith in YHWH or justice or mercy or equality was both political and spiritual, nationalistic and transcendent.[64] It is true that there were a diversity of perspectives on the question of the Land and the kingdom of God in the first-century Jewish milieu, but even the most universal conceptions of the Land among Egyptian Jews could not be characterised as aterritorial: YHWH's reign always was exercised within a realm where Israel remained very much at the centre.[65] Admittedly, a vastly more thorough discussion, which would be needed to establish these points, will not be undertaken here. Nevertheless, in the following paragraphs a brief description of Matthew's Land-Kingdom motif will be offered that takes both of these points into account.

In moving toward drafting a definition of the Land-Kingdom motif and asserting its presence in the First Gospel, the diversity of eschatological expectations within Judaism needs to be stressed. As we have already mentioned in chapter 2 above, it is widely recognised today that within the variegated Judaism of the late Second-Temple period "the expectation of a Messiah was not the rule".[66] While it can be said there was a "common expectation" of a coming new and better age, which would include the restoration of the people, purification of the temple and Jerusalem, the defeat or conversion of the Gentiles, and the establishment of righteousness, E. P. Sanders has concluded: "Jews who thought about the future concretely ... did not have only one model to follow".[67]

This fact of history is rooted in the sacred Scriptures of Judaism which attest to varying streams of eschatological expectation which seem to happily coexist within the tradition. For example, on the one side, some important prophetic texts, such as Isaiah 40–66 and Daniel 7, do not envisage a role for the

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63 See discussions by Allen 1912:lxviii–lxix; Allison 1985:101; Boring 1995:168; Carson 1995: 100; Davies and Allison 1988:389; Gundry 1994:43; Hagner 1993:48; Harrington 1991:140–41; Hill 1972:90; Kim 2001:9–32; Luz 1989:167; Meier 1994:240. On the question of the kingdom of God in the Gospels and the NT see e.g. Bauckham 1996; Caragounis 1992; Chilton 1984, 1996; Kingsbury 1975:128–60; Ladd 1974:122–48; Luomanen 1998; Luz 1990; McKnight 1999; Meier 1994:237–506, esp. 237–88; Perrin 1976; Schmidt 1964. To my knowledge, the only dissenting voices, in the last 40 years of NT scholarship, are Aalen 1962; Buchanan 1970. See Buchanan's (1970:55) critique of the hermeneutical jujitsu scholars employ to deny political or national associations with the kingdom.
64 See similarly Tomson's (2001:70) statement: "This reduction of religion to a non-essential, individual trait was unimaginable in antiquity, where religious worship was an inseparable part of life".
65 See note 61 above.
66 Sanders 1992:295; cf. similarly Collins 1995:3–4, 40.
67 Sanders 1992:298.

Davidic King in the eschatological age. Moreover, these texts visualize not so much a restoration or perfection of the old order, but an apocalyptic destruction of the old and a re-creation.[68] Another stream of eschatological expectation, on the other hand, which L. Schiffman has usefully labelled "restorative" Messianism, expects that the future will involve the restoration of the Davidic Kingdom in the Land of Israel resulting in a universal recognition and worship of YHWH by the whole earth.[69] Likewise, M. Wyschogrod speaks of this kind of Messianism when he reflects on Israel's retention of a national-historical expectation in its Messianism. He states: "Messianism ... hallows the historical order by foreseeing redemption as coming in history, amidst the realties of international relations".[70] The historical books, such as the two books of Samuel and Chronicles,[71] as well as the prophetic books of Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Micah, Zechariah and some Psalms promote a restorative Messianism, while in some cases also containing utopian aspects within the description of the restoration.

In the latter stream, where the Davidic covenant was cherished and a Davidic Messianic expectation nurtured, the kingdom of God seems inextricably linked with the territorial kingdom of Israel. While this assertion would need substantial evidence to justify beyond doubt, this, I think, is the implication of Hengel's conclusion that the Messianic age *is modelled on and its borders determined by the Davidic Kingdom* (see above).[72] The restoration of God's kingdom in the *eschaton* appears to take the form of a restored Davidic monarchy, although this material form is not the full expression of YHWH's kingdom. In other words, the Davidic Kingdom becomes a *paradigm* for Israel's eschatological restoration. The kingdom of God, even so, was still understood as God's universal reign over the "gods" in the heavens – so in this sense it is not *merely* earth-bound, but also, and more importantly, perhaps it is transcendent. Yet, that transcendent, universal kingdom, in this way of thinking, is made manifest on earth in time and space *singularly* in the establishment of the kingdom of Israel through the reign of his Davidic son whose influence, as YHWH's viceroy, will extend far beyond the borders of Israel to encompass

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68   Schiffman 1994:317–18.
69   Schiffman 1994:317–18. While *Jubilees* is not known for its Messianism, it, nonetheless, contains a perspective very similar to this. Scott (2005:208) expresses the book's viewpoint: "Here we see once again the twin foci of the book [*Jub.*] – particularism (the focus on Israel) and universalism (the focus on the world) – coming to expression in a harmonious way. The positive effects of Israel's restoration are expected to spill over the borders of the Land to the rest of the world".
70   Wyschogrod 2004:98–99.
71   E.g. 2 Chron 13:5–8 which expressly affirms the Davidic covenant and asserts that the kingdom of YHWH has been given to the sons of David.
72   Davies (1991:51) seems to agree when, after citing the 14th Benediction of the *Shemoneh Esreh*, he states, "The reference to the kingdom of the house of David is unambiguous. *For religious Jews, we must conclude, The Land is ultimately inseparable from the state of Israel, however much the actualities of history have demanded their distinction*", emphasis added.

the whole earth.[73] Perhaps a diagram will help illustrate the relationship between the kingdoms of YHWH and Israel:
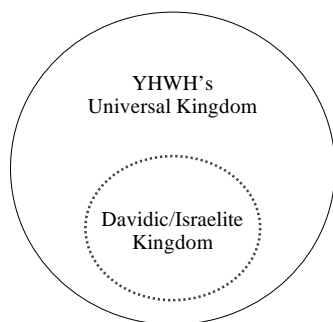
Figure 1. The Kingdoms of YHWH and Israel

This restorative approach to the eschatological expectation does not squeeze out other conceptions of the kingdom of God, whether symbolic of theophany, Day of the Lord, or divine kingship,[74] but rather in ancient Judaism both approaches are found among Jewish groups – and even within one particular group they can coexist. I assert, therefore, that a more robust understanding of ancient Judaism's, and perhaps likewise early Christianity's, conception of the kingdom of God, should take into account this restorative stream of tradition, which is centred on the Davidic promise and equates the kingdom of God and the kingdom of Israel. What is more, it is the equation of the kingdom of God and the kingdom of Israel in the Davidic Messianic expectation that seems most appropriately labelled a "Land-Kingdom motif".[75]

Accordingly, when one discusses the issue of the kingdom of God and its correlation to *Eretz Israel* in a given document or text of ancient Judaism it is necessary to recognise the presence and force of the Davidic expectation within that document or context. When one has references to the kingdom of God and *Eretz Israel* contained in a context that stands within the restorative stream of tradition we have just described, it is likely that the hope for the restoration of the Promised Land is not far off. Insofar as this is the case, it is possible that Matthew's references to the Land and the kingdom of God should be seen within the Land-Kingdom motif. This conclusion seems appropriate given

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73   See Scheurer 1996:381–84, esp. 384. In addition, see Aharoni's (2000:79–80) graphic description of the administrative structure of the Davidic Kingdom above, which no doubt also provided a model for the Messianic age.

74   See Kim's (2001:33–100) recent survey of the symbolic antecedents of the kingdom of God. Not surprisingly he too overlooks the Davidic background to the concept.

75   Buchanan (1970:69; see similarly 1978) has convincingly shown that this stream of tradition, which emanated from the Davidic covenant, maintained an abiding presence among Jews not only through ancient Judaism, but even into the mediaeval period.

Matthew's intense interest in the promise and his unique emphasis on Jesus of Nazareth as YHWH's eschatological Davidic Messiah (1:1).[76] Further, if the Land-Kingdom motif is present in the First Gospel, it would follow, then, that Matthew had an abiding hope for the territorial restoration of Israel.

In order to confirm this initial impression, passages should be considered which contain the following elements: (1) a reference to *Eretz Israel* in either part or whole, implicitly or explicitly, and (2) a reference to the βασιλεία, either implicitly or explicitly. These basic criteria suggest at least the following passages should be considered in a thorough exploration: 1:1–17; 2:6; 2:19–23; 4:12–17; 5:3–10; 6:10; 10:5–7; 15:24; 21:33–45; 24:30–31; 25:31–45; 26:31–32; and 28:16–20. We have already briefly discussed the territorial significance of the genealogy with its emphasis on the end of the Exile (1:1–17). In addition, the analysis of Matthew 2:6 in chapter 3 as well as 26:31–32 (28:16–20) in chapter 5 revealed an intensification of the territorial implications of the citations. What is more, this thesis handles Matthew 10:5–7 (4:12–17) in chapter 7 and 15:24 in chapter 8. I will argue in those future discussions that Matthew's narrative framework, oriented as it is toward the northern region of ideal Israel, imbues the expression "the lost sheep of the house of Israel" with territorial and political implications such that the territorial restoration of Israel is implied.

Clearly, a more comprehensive study of the Land-Kingdom motif is beyond the scope of this thesis. The purpose of this chapter has been to make room for a reading of the First Gospel that can envisage the first-century Jewish expectation of a restoration of *Eretz Israel*. The need for such a substantial digression from the argument of the thesis was precipitated by assertions made not only in previous chapters of Part 2, but those which will follow in Part 3. The Shepherd-King motif, which is grounded in Davidic ideology and eschatological expectation, is closely linked to the Land-Kingdom motif as I have defined it. Furthermore, the primary argument of Part 2, which simply stated is that the Shepherd-King motif retains real political substance when employed by Matthew, can only stand if the possibility exists that Matthew's Gospel exhibits an abiding expectation of the restoration of the *Eretz Israel* in a manner not unlike the *Psalms of Solomon* and the Dead Sea Scrolls which were considered in Part 1 above.

The bottom line of this discussion has been that the prevailing consensus has not adequately accounted for all the evidence when addressing the issue of the Land in Matthew. Not only has it not adequately taken into account the perspective of many first-century Palestinian Jews on the issue of the territory of Israel in the Messianic age, of which Matthew may have been one, but also it seems that the studies of the kingdom of God, both in and out of Matthew,

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76   See chs. 1 and 3 above with Davies and Allison 1997:718; Verseput 1995; and recently Deines 2004:469–97.

take little account of the diversity of Jewish thinking on the issue. As a result, surprisingly very little attention has focused on the stream of tradition which orbits around the Davidic covenant. Within this orbit the evidence suggests that the kingdom of God was equated with the kingdom of Israel. This equation we have called the Land-Kingdom motif. The label, while borrowed from Kim's study, has been clarified and radically redrawn. Thus, I suggested that interpreters should read Matthew against the backdrop of this "restorative" Messianism to which the Land-Kingdom motif belongs. When this is done, it seems no longer justified to claim that Matthew lacks concern for the promise of the Land. In fact, from the preliminary results of this thesis (see chs. 3–5, 7–8), which admittedly needs significantly more detailed follow-up, it seems quite the opposite: Matthew appears to have an abiding conviction about the restoration of the territory of Israel and perhaps envisages Jesus' Messianic message and movements as an announcement of its soon-coming consummation.

Conclusion to Part Two

The Messianic Shepherd-King
in the Gospel of Matthew

The aim of Part 2 was to investigate the function of the Shepherd-King motif for Matthew's presentation of Jesus the Messiah, the Son of David. The study's intent has been to set forth a contextual framework within which the examination of "the lost sheep of the house of Israel" phrase in Part 3 will be undertaken. I have used the image of concentric circles to illuminate the relationship between the supporting units of the thesis (e.g. Parts 1 and 2) and the primary focus of the thesis (Part 3).

In Part 2, three passages were investigated: Matthew 2:1–6, 9:35–38 and 26:31–32. These passages were chosen from among the several texts in Matthew which have shepherding terminology because they also possessed two additional features crucial for the more precise Messianic Shepherd-King motif: (1) a context in which Israel's leadership is at least implicitly critiqued, and (2) a clear citation or allusion of a Davidic Shepherd-King text from Jewish Scripture.

Two primary conclusions result from this enquiry: (1) the Shepherd-King motif is significant for Matthew's portrait of Jesus, and (2) the motif delivers real political freight. The significance of the motif is perceived in its placement at crucial junctures in the narrative: in the opening two chapters of the Gospel, heading up the mission of Jesus and the disciples, and as an introduction to the Passion Narrative. At each of these points, the Messianic Shepherd-King motif within the Scripture quotation or allusion is used by Matthew to reveal the identity and vocation of Jesus. What is more, the motif's political substance is clear in its contextual links, both immediate and broad, and in the textual formations of the citations.

Matthew used the Shepherd-King motif to express the Messianic expectations of national restoration which he believed were being fulfilled in Jesus' mission. This motif is a vehicle which conveys Matthew's conviction that Jesus will rule over the eschatological Empire of God (2:6), free Israel from the tyranny of her oppressors (9:36), and inaugurate the Empire through the purifying work of his death and the supernatural victory of his resurrection (26:31;

28:16–20). At the end of the age, at the appearance of the Messiah, the eschatological Empire that was inaugurated in the death and resurrection of Jesus, the Shepherd-King, will be consummated in space and time.

The establishment of God's territorial Empire at the *parousia* leads to a third conclusion resulting from this study. W. Carter's argument that Matthew had a concrete, "this-world" understanding of God's Empire finds further substantiation.[1] This concern for the territorial restoration of Israel was seen in each of the three texts considered in Part 2. Moreover, it was particularly visible in Matthew's two textual formations in 2:6 and 26:31. In each case it appeared that Matthew conflated texts in order to intensify the territorial aspects of the citation.

The conclusions formed in this chapter will shape the context for our interpretation of the phrase "the lost sheep of the house of Israel" in Part 3. With the scriptural allusion to "the lost sheep of the house of Israel" in Matthew 10:6 and 15:24, it seems likely that Matthew's perspective is rooted in the concrete world of the Messianic Shepherd-King motif, with its concomitant expectations regarding the reconstitution of a united kingdom of Israel. But this is to anticipate the conclusion before exploring the data. So to this data we now turn.

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1   Cf. Carter (2001:52): "The notion of God's Empire or God's rule is very political and 'every day-ish'. It is exactly the same language that describes the political Empires such as Rome's".

Part Three

Introduction to Part Three

The Matthean Shepherd-King
and the Lost Sheep of the House of Israel

In Part 3 the key passages central to the question of the thesis come before us. The approach adopted for addressing the research question rests on the point that the meaning of "the lost sheep of the house of Israel" phrase is best understood against the background of the Messianic Shepherd-King motif and its national-political expectation. With Part 3 we have reached the centre of the concentric circles and will need to bring to bear the previous contexts both of ancient Judaism and the First Gospel on this question: who are "the lost sheep of the house of Israel" and what significance does this have for understanding the mission of Matthew's Jesus?

Part 3 is divided into two chapters. The first two chapters (chs. 7 and 8) focus on the two passages where the phrase appears in the narrative: Matthew 10:6 and 15:24. The chapters together will make the argument that 'the lost sheep of the house of Israel' refers to a particular group *within* national Israel who reside *in* a narrowly defined geographic region. Seen within the context of both Matthew's use of the Shepherd-King motif with its national-political expectation of restoration and Matthew's geographically oriented narrative, the group labelled with the expression "the lost sheep of the house of Israel" are Jews living in rural Galilee and the northern region of the ideal Land of Israel who were remnants of the old Israelite population of the Northern Kingdom of Israel.

Chapter Seven

The Lost Sheep of the House of Israel
in Matthew 10:6

"but go rather to the lost sheep of the house of Israel"
Matthew 10:6

7.1 Introduction

The next two chapters intend to grasp the meaning of the phrase "the lost sheep of the house of Israel" in the Matthean logia of 10:5b–6 and 15:24.[1] The question utmost in these chapters is: To what or to whom does the phrase refer? The present chapter addresses the phrase within the logion of Matthew 10:5b–6:

> Τούτους τοὺς δώδεκα ἀπέστειλεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς παραγγείλας αὐτοῖς λέγων εἰς ὁδὸν ἐθνῶν μὴ ἀπέλθητε καὶ εἰς πόλιν Σαμαριτῶν μὴ εἰσέλθητε · πορεύεσθε δὲ μᾶλλον πρὸς τὰ πρόβατα τὰ ἀπολωλότα οἴκου Ἰσραήλ.[2]

From a straightforward reading of the logion, one is confronted with the difficulty of interpreting the phrase "the lost sheep of the house of Israel". For while the identities of the "Gentiles" (ἐθνῶν) and "Samaritans" (Σαμαριτῶν) are relatively clear, it is not nearly as evident who or what is being referred to by the metaphor. In fact, it seems that Matthew makes the assumption that the group who is referred to here is self-evident to his readers/hearers.[3] He makes no effort to explicate the reality to which the metaphor is pointing.

In view of this observation, a contextual study of the phrase within its immediate and broad literary context – not to mention the historical and scriptural background – is necessary in order to narrow the interpretive options for the

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1 Rusche (1979:107) notes that the repetition of the phrase signals its importance to Matthew's Gospel as with other important phrases: "Many who are first will be last, and the last first" (19:30; 20:15); "Stay awake, for you do not know on what day your Lord is coming" (24:42; 25:13); see likewise Anderson 1994.

2 There are no exegetically significant textual variants for these verses. For insignificant variants see Swanson 1995:81.

3 See similarly Rusche 1979:109; see also discussion of "authorial audience" in the introduction.

meaning of the phrase. It is possible that a conclusive answer to the question of the exact identity of the phrase will remain elusive, given this state of affairs. Still, the present chapter will set out to ascertain, to the extent possible, a hypothesis that best accounts for the evidence.

The chapter will follow a procedure consistent with the nature of the question. First, the context of the phrase will be investigated at several levels. The result of such an investigation, it is hoped, will provide something like constraints within which any plausible interpretation must convincingly fit. Next the phrase itself will be studied in light of the context discerned and a fresh interpretation of the meaning of the phrase will be offered. Anticipating the result of the following analysis, I will argue that the phrase must be read against the backdrop of the political-national framework of the Messianic Shepherd-King expectation with its attending territorial restoration expectation. Furthermore, the phrase should be read in view of the widespread perspective of the expansive territorial dimensions of *Eretz Israel* among Jews in the first century. Both of these points were developed in Parts 1 and 2 of this thesis. When this is done, the phrase the "lost sheep of the house of Israel" understandably represents a holistic political entity.

With this designation, the Matthean Jesus refers to Jews living in rural areas of Galilee and the northern region of the ideal Land of Israel in the first-century who were remnants of the ancient Israelite population of the former *Northern Kingdom* of Israel. As the Messianic Shepherd-King, Jesus, the Davidic Son, sent his emissaries to announce the soon-coming political restoration of united Israel and dispense the concomitant blessings of that future kingdom.

The chapter concludes with a brief discussion of the first half of the logion of Matthew 10:5b–6, the restriction of the Twelve's mission. It is believed that the newly suggested hypothesis will best explain the significance of the restrictive and temporal mission in northern Israel.

7.2 The Context of Matthew 10:6

In order to gain an understanding of the meaning of the phrase "the lost sheep of the house of Israel" in 10:6 our first step is to place the logion in its context in the book of Matthew. Grasping the context involves at least three points of contact: the near context, the wider narrative context and the thematic context.

While the near context of Matthew 10:5b–6 has already been touched on in chapter 4 in the discussion of the phrase "sheep without a shepherd" in the logion in 9:36, its importance to the meaning of the logion of 10:6 requires that we rehearse it once more. Narrowly speaking, Matthew 10:5b–6 falls within a section that has been labelled by scholars: the "Mission Discourse" (9:35–

11:1).[4] This block of material is the second of five well-organized teaching sections in the book of Matthew.[5] The structure of the discourse falls into three main units: (1) a narrative preamble describes the occasion for the mission of the twelve (9:35–10:5a); (2) the specific instructions to the twelve that delimit the mission and describe the aggressive rejection and active reception of people (10:5b–42); and (3) a narrative conclusion emphasizing the mission of Jesus (11:1).

Within the first unit the passage divides into two further subunits: (1) Israel's dilemma (9:35–38) and (2) Jesus' response (10:1–5a). The second unit, where our phrase appears, divides into six more subunits: (1) instructions concerning the people group and the activities of the mission (10:5b–8d); (2) instructions about the practical aspects of the mission and the response of people (10:8e–15); (3) instructions relating to persecution (10:16–23); (4) instructions about the cause of persecution (10:24–33); (5) instructions concerning the cost of discipleship (10:34–39); and (6) instructions about the reward for those who receive the disciples (10:40–42).[6]

A lengthy study of the entire context of the instructions is not necessary, because the argument of the chapter is not dependent on a thorough treatment of the whole discourse.[7] Our study will focus exclusively on the narrative preamble and the initial prohibition/instruction.

In Matthew 9:35–38, the narrative preamble to the Mission Discourse, the "crowds" (ὄχλους) Jesus is ministering to in this Galilean region are likened to "sheep without a shepherd" (πρόβατα μὴ ἔχοντα ποιμένα). Jesus then states that the harvest (i.e., "the crowds") is large and the workers are few. The response to this state of affairs, according to Matthew, is the subsequent mission of the Twelve conducted with the Messianic authority of Jesus to "the lost sheep of the house of Israel" (Matt 10:1–6).[8]

From this brief sketch, it becomes clear, because of the intentionally woven narrative, that "the lost sheep of the house of Israel" logion of Matthew 10:6 is contiguous with the "sheep without a shepherd" logion in 9:36, and, as J. R. C. Cousland has usefully suggested, "[The relationship] indicates that the two verses are meant to inform one another".[9] Furthermore, he sensibly asserts that the "crowds" (9:25), the "sheep without a shepherd" (9:36), and the "lost

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4   Park 1995:32–42.
5   Cf. 5:1–7:29 (Sermon on the Mount); 9:35–11:1 (Mission Discourse); 13:1–53 (Discourse in Parables) 18:1–19:1 (Community Discourse); 24:1–26:5 (Eschatological Discourse). Of particular note is the fixed formula found at the end of each of these teaching sections Καὶ ἐγένετο ὅτε ἐτέλεσεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς (7:28; 11:1; 13:53; 19:1; and 26:1).
6   For different structural layouts see Cousland 2001:88–90; McKnight 1986:507; Park 1995: 40–42.
7   See fuller treatments in e.g. Foster 2004:221; Wilk 2002:127.
8   See similarly Davies 1993:82; Garbe 2005:39; Sabourin 1977:591.
9   Cousland 2001:88.

sheep of the house of Israel" (10:6) are to be understood as one and the same entity, although this cannot be demonstrated "categorically".[10]

This chapter hopes to clarify the identity of that group. At the very least, I think we can affirm with Cousland, as chapter 4's study attempted to show, that the group signifies Israel in a political-national sense.[11] While this will become more evident through the course of the argument below, I argued in the chapter on the "sheep without a shepherd" that the phrase signified national Israel in a state of occupation, oppression and exile due to the absence of capable political leadership. The association of the two logia here suggests that "the lost sheep of the house of Israel" refers also to political Israel, at least in some form. The limits of the national entity in view in this passage are an issue we will address shortly. There is reason to think, however, that the national entity has a more limited scope than ethnic Israel widely conceived. Thus, while signifying a national entity, both the "sheep without a shepherd" and the "lost sheep of the house of Israel" logia likely refer to a more *limited* entity, though no less national in its constituency.

Equally important, although often overlooked, is the overarching structural unit within which Matthew 9:36–10:6 is situated. [12] Matthew's narrative unit (see table 1 below) comprises the ministry of Jesus in "Greater-Galilee" in the northern territory of *Eretz Israel* (4:12–19:1).[13] Matthew depicts the beginnings of Jesus' ministry in the northern territory in Matthew 4:12–17 with a series of three events: first, Jesus hears of the arrest of John the Baptist and

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10   Cousland (2001:88–90) demonstrates this by an appeal to Matthew's redactional reworking in the conjoining of 9:36 and 10:5–6. There is, however, no need to appeal to the sources at this point since this conjunction is obvious from a straightforward reading of the text.

11   Cf. Cousland 2001:91.

12   Matthew's Gospel may very well divide up around the topographical points of Galilee and Judea/Jerusalem (Bauer 1988:22–23). This division is scarcely followed today, as McKnight points out (1992:529), although that has not always been the case. For a historical survey of structural approaches that stress the geographical-chronological element see Bauer 1988:22–26. McKnight suggests that a "geographical-biographical" approach to the structure of the book "reflects a preoccupation of the nineteenth-century Gospel studies: how to compose a life of Jesus" (1992:529). While this may be true for most of the studies in the past, a geographically oriented structure places due emphasis on Matthew's portrayal of Jesus' Messianic activity in Galilee and its environs without taking away from the recent contributions in regard to the intricate symmetry of Matthew's gospel (cf. Davies and Allison 1988:58–72). Matthew's division of the Gospel topographically perhaps implies no more than his concern for the Land of Israel and its restoration. Clearly, Matthew is *not* concerned to describe the details of Jesus' life chronologically, as a biography might – this is the view McKnight critiques (1992:529). Yet, in McKnight's (1986:10) earlier work he was correct to note that "to neglect the basic chronological-biographical plot, including geographical elements will weaken a structural proposal". Moreover, it seems Matthew is interested in the geography of the Land because of its theological significance (cf. similarly Bauer 1988:26; Farmer 1982: 138–39).

13   For a historical survey of approaches to Matthew that stress the geographical-chronological structure see Bauer 1988:22–26; see also ch. 6 above for a discussion of the widespread first-century view of the ideal Land.

"withdraws" (ἀναχωρέω) to Galilee (4:12). Next he leaves Nazareth and makes his home in Capernaum in the territory of Zebulun and Naphtali (4:13–16).[14] Then Jesus begins his ministry in Galilee preaching "Repent for the kingdom of heaven is near" (4:17).[15]

In the development of the narrative, Matthew 4:12–17 provides a transition between the material of Matthew 1:1–4:11 (Jesus' early life and preparation for ministry) and what follows, Matthew 4:18–19:1 (Jesus' activity in Galilee).[16] In Matthew 19:1 another transitional statement appears signalling movement away from the north toward the southern region of Judea: "When Jesus had finished saying these things, he left Galilee and *went to the region of Judea* beyond the Jordan". Hence, it appears that Matthew 4:12–17 is an introduction for the narrative unit 4:18–19:1 and provides the framework within which the interpretation of the whole narrative section should be conducted. What is more, the *inclusio* formed by the nearly identical verses of 4:23 and 9:35 links the present pericope with the foundational description of the beginning of Jesus' Galilean ministry in 4:12–25.[17]

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14   The importance of the geographical addition of the tribal territories of Zebulun and Naphtali is perhaps found in circumstances of the Exile, vis-à-vis, they were among the first northern territories to be taken into captivity by Tiglath-pileser III and the Assyrians in 733/32 B.C.: 2 Kings 15:29 states, "In the days of King Pekah of Israel, King Tiglath-pileser of Assyria came and captured Ijon, Abel-beth-maacah, Janoah, Kedesh, Hazor, Gilead, and Galilee, all the land of Naphtali; and he carried the people captive to Assyria" (cf. Isa 8:23–9:1). Importantly, both Ezekiel and Isaiah predict the future restoration of Naphtali (Ezek 48:3–4, 34; Isa 8:23–9:1) and Zebulun (Ezek 48:26–27; Isa 8:23–9:1).
15   Note the important phrase: ἀπο τότε ἤρξατο here (cf. 16:21 and 26:16), which some have suggested marks a distinct division in the narrative (see Kingsbury 1975:7–25). However, Neirynck (1991:152; cf. likewise Beaton 2002:105) and others have disputed this approach and noted the close links between 4:17 and 4:12–16.
16   Beaton 2002; 104–05.
17   Bonnard 1963:141–42; Davies and Allison 1988:411; Grundmann 1968:285; Lichtenberger 1997:269 make a similar observation.

1:1 4:11	4:12								18:35	19:1		25:46	26:6 28:20
Jesus the Messiah's Origin and Preparation for Ministry	Jesus the Messiah's Activity in the North									Jesus the Messiah's Activity in Judea and Jerusalem			The Passion and Resurrection of Jesus the Messiah
	4:12–25	5:1–7:29	8:1–9:35	10:1–42	11:1–12:50	13:1–52	13:53–7:27	18:1–35		19:1–23:39	24:1–25:46		
	Narr	Disc	Narr	Disc	Narr	Disc	Narr	Disc		Narr	Disc		

Table 1. Matthew's Narrative Framework

A study of 4:12–17 and the structure of the Gospel along geographical lines will not be conducted here[18] but the focus of Matthew's Gospel on the Messianic activity in the northern territory of the Promised Land is reminiscent of the Jewish traditions concerning the appearance of Messiah in the north as well the general expectation of a new united Davidic Kingdom amidst a restored territory which was discussed in chapter 6 above. S. Freyne, after describing Jesus' travels through the various sub-regions of Galilee, similarly comments:

> One plausible view of this [geographical] outline ... is to recognize here the contours of a scheme that seeks to represent Jesus as having covered all the regions of the northern part of the inherited land of Israel, inspired by his ideas and hopes of Jewish restoration eschatology.[19]

Moreover, R. Beaton has recently provided a brief, but altogether careful study of this introductory paragraph and the reuse of Isaiah 8:23–9:1 in Matthew 4:15–16.[20] The investigation considers both Matthew's text-type and the function of the quotation in Matthew's Gospel. With respect to the text-form of the citation, Beaton observes that Matthew's citation's relationship to known ancient versions, though complex, suggests his geographical emphasis: "Matthew appears to draw upon the *geographical specificity* of the MT in support of Jesus' movements and messianic ministry".[21] It is quite clear, then, that the surface level purpose of the citation is "to demonstrate how Jesus of Nazareth's geographical movements fulfilled Scripture".[22] Yet, Beaton asserts that given the inclusion of Isaiah 9:1 a mere "geographical validation" does not exhaust the import of the citation. He makes an astute observation about the possible import of Isaiah 8:23b–9:1 in Matthew 4:15–16 for not only the Gentiles who reside in the region, but perhaps just as, or more, importantly for *Israel* and the Land.[23] He writes:

> Matthew's emphasis upon Jesus' move to Capernaum and the mention of Zebulun and Naphtalai [sic] may suggest a desire to demonstrate that the messiah went ini-

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18 See Verseput (1995:110) who likewise not only notes the pivotal importance of Matt 4:15–16 as the foundation of the whole Galilean ministry of Jesus, but also the "geographical symmetry", to which the pericope points, of the Matthew's narrative framework. In outlining his understanding of the geographical significance of Matthew's structure, Verseput argued that although Matthew takes up Mark's geographical orientation, he presents a distinctive perspective of the material. Further, he divides the bulk of the Gospel into two geographically oriented sections (see Verseput 1994). His outline of the Gospel would look something like this: Birth and Preparation 1:1–4:11; Galilean Ministry 4:12–16:20; Pilgrimage to Jerusalem 16:21–25:46; Passion & Resurrection 26:1–28:20. For a similar structural proposal see Billingham 1982; Green 2000.

19 Freyne 2004:40.
20 Beaton 2002:97–110.
21 Beaton 2002:104, emphasis added.
22 Beaton 2002:102.
23 Luz (2005:21; cf. also Davies and Allison 1988:385; and most recently Nolland 2005:172–74) would be characteristic of the majority of commentators who see in the reference to "Galilee of the Gentiles" only a Gentile mission. Yet there is no obvious reason from Matthew's narrative to read a Gentile mission into this passage. See similarly Carter 2000:115.

tially to the tribes of Israel who were the first to be taken into captivity (cf. 10:5–6; 15:24).[24]

Beaton's observation, which is an echo of an earlier insight of Freyne,[25] if correct, could provide the eschatological basis for the Galilean ministry. Significantly, it could also reveal that bound up in Matthew's portrayal of Jesus' ministry in Galilee and its environs is a concern for the restoration of *Eretz Israel* and the twelve tribe league of national-political Israel consonant with the Messianic Shepherd-King motif. And to that end the Matthean Jesus primarily conducted his mission within the former Northern Kingdom, the "Galilee of the Gentiles",[26] about which the original Isaianic prophecy is made.[27]

Stepping back from the discussion for a moment, the geographical scope of the narrative is perhaps significant for our understanding of the identity of "the lost sheep of the house of Israel". In spite of the indisputable observation that Matthew depicts Jews from all over the Land of Israel (idealized) coming to Jesus (Matt 4:23–25),[28] he does *not* portray Jesus as either gathering them or going to them.[29] The Matthean Jesus' sending of his disciples (Matt 10:5b–6), which when viewed from the perspective of the whole Gospel reflects his own vocation (cf. 15:24), suggests the possibility of a *limitation* of the geographical scope of his Messianic mission, in view of the limitation of the geographical scope of the narrative.

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24 Beaton 2002:106; see Stuhlmacher (2000:27, emphasis his) who even more emphatically states: The fulfillment quotation of Isa 8:23–9:1 (ET: 9:1–2) in Matt 4:15–16 (its conformity to the Masoretic Text is not coincidental) points ahead, in my opinion, not to the mission to the Gentiles (as Ulrich Luz points out), but, rather, it prepares Matt 28:16–20 in a Jewish Christian manner: *Jesus' going ahead to the "Galilee of the Gentiles", His appearance before the (eleven) disciples, and their commissioning have all to do with the setting up of the* βασιλεία τῷ Ἰσραήλ (*cf. Acts 1:6) by the exalted Messianic Son of Man*.

25 Freyne 1988:90: "The importance of Galilee ... is not that Matthew exploits its gentile associations during the ministry as in Mark, but rather that as a part of Israel, a ministry that was conducted there once can now be justified as a Messianic visitation to Israel, which is *also* to encompass all the nations", emphasis added.

26 Chancey (2002:31) notes that this is the only occurrence in the Hebrew Bible where the phrase גליל הגוים is used to designate the region. The phrase, although influential in shaping impressions of Galilee in the eighth-century B.C., could mean either that there was a mixed population or that it was a region surrounded by the nations. The latter reflecting the most literal rendering of the phrase.

27 See likewise Chancey 2002:31. If this reading has any merit, and a more political-national hope for territorial restoration can be acknowledged, an interesting by-product is the continuity created with the Isaianic context of the citation in Matthew 4:15–16. Isaiah 9, as far as can be determined, addresses the political situation of the captivity and oppression at the hands of Tiglath-pileser III and the Assyrians during their military campaign in 733/32 B.C. (Emerton 1969:156). To this situation Isaiah speaks a word of consolation to the northern regions announcing future political independence (9:4–5) and the promise of a righteous government under the leadership of a Davidide (9:6–7); see similarly Beaton 2002:103.

28 See Lohfink 1983:274–76; also Cousland 2001:63–65.

29 Contra Lohfink 1983:276; Trilling 1964:136; and most recently Chae 2004:321–24, 588.

So, contrary to a consensus of opinion on the question, the Matthean Jesus is *not* pursuing *all Israel* in his quest for "the lost sheep".[30] According to Matthew, there is a geographical limitation in Jesus' (and his disciples') Messianic activity which centres in the northern region of the Land.[31] One need only ask whether Jesus ever travelled to Hebron or Beer-sheba? Although an argument from silence, it is worth asking why the Matthean Jesus' activity was limited to the north if he was interested in all Israel? Perhaps this limited territorial orientation within the narrative of Matthew should exercise a definitive influence on our understanding of the "lost sheep" logion. To be sure, a limitation of scope on the part of Jesus' mission according to Matthew need not imply that Matthew's Jesus was *not* interested in the restoration of "all Israel". To the contrary, it is likely that his mission in the north was a sign of the coming restoration of the whole. For a more thorough treatment see the discussion below.

A third point of contextual contact for the Matthean logion is a thematic, Jewish-scriptural one. Matthew uses the significant Messianic Shepherd-King motif that we investigated in Part 2 of this thesis. Matthew 10:6 states, "but go rather to *the lost sheep of the house of Israel* (τὰ πρόβατα τὰ ἀπολωλότα οἴκου Ἰσραήλ)". That this verse contains the Shepherd-King motif hardly needs to be defended since the constituent elements of the motif were identified in the context of the Mission Discourse in chapter 4 above. There we pointed to the elements of the Shepherd-King motif evident in the Matthean context: (1) the shepherding terminology is no doubt present with the two logia 9:36 and 10:6; (2) the political-national interests of the context are evident in the aforementioned narrative structure and in the constitutional significance of the Twelve. Along with the scriptural allusion of 9:35 which we discussed at length already, 10:6 is also deeply allusive with connections to Davidic Shepherd-King texts. While perhaps not exclusively dependent on any one passage in particular, there can be little doubt that the language of the phrase "the lost sheep of the house of Israel" in 10:6 is influenced by language from Ezekiel 34; 37:15–25 and Jeremiah 23:1–8 and 50:4–20 (esp. 50:6).[32] In these Shep-

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30   E.g. Boring 1995:265; Chae 2004:318; Cousland 2001:91; Davies and Allison 1991:167; Gundry 1994:185; Hagner 1993:270; Harrington 1991:140; Hill 1972:185; Hooker 1971:362; Luz 2001:73; Overman 1996:150; Schnabel 2002:293.

31   In view of the particulars of the Mission Discourse and Jesus' own missional focus, it is widely believed that Matthew has crafted his narrative so that the disciple's mission is a mirror image of Jesus (cf. below with Davies and Allison 1991:160–61; Gundry 1994:185; LaGrand 1999:139–40).

32   Some recent interpreters, e.g. Chae (2004:319), have attempted to nail this allusion only to Ezek 34. However, this is not advisable since there is good reason to see the convergence of themes of several passages as background. One factor that seems to have gone unnoticed by most commentators is the setting of the activity of Jesus in the north. This setting should exercise significant influence on both the interpretation of the logion and its scriptural background. On whom is Jesus' activity focused? To whom does the description "the lost sheep of the house of Israel" apply? Those who take Ezek 34 as the *only* background may miss the

herd-King passages, as seen in chapter 2, there is a strong national hope for the regathering and reunification of (the house of) Israel and Judah into a united nation under one new Davidic Shepherd-King.[33]

Thus, in continuity with our conclusions both in chapter 4 with respect to Matthew 9:36 and more broadly in Part 2 of the thesis, Matthew uses the Shepherd-King motif here for polemical and political ends. Matthew's Jesus bemoans the negative condition of the people and implicitly critiques the current leadership establishment. While at the same time, he, as the Davidic Messiah, provides the solution to that condition by sending out with kingly authority emissaries to enliven hope through the proclamation of the coming of the restored kingdom of Israel bringing relief from oppression by healing disease and sickness.

The convergence of the narrow and wide contexts as well as the thematic-scriptural parallels, then, should perhaps predispose a modern reader to think in certain ways about the phrase "the lost sheep of the house of Israel". Conceivably it can be said that the context places something like constraints on the reader with regard to the meaning of the logion. While there maybe more than one plausibly legitimate referent for the phrase, it will need to fit within the parameters of the context. The foregoing contextual study suggests that "the lost sheep of the house of Israel", at the very least, must: (1) refer to a political-national entity; (2) encompass a group that is both a significant body in the expected restoration of territorial and political Israel and one that resides in the northern region of *Eretz Israel*; and (3) function to support a *concrete* eschatological expectation of national-political restoration for all Israel under one Davidic King.

7.3 "The lost sheep of the house of Israel"

With the contextual parameters in place to guide our investigation we will now address the question of the phrase itself. The expression consists of two nominal phrases: the head-phrase "the lost sheep" (τὰ πρόβατα τὰ ἀπολωλότα) and the genitive-phrase "of the house of Israel" (οἴκου Ἰσραήλ). In order to grasp the meaning of the logion it is informative, first, to examine the two nominal components of the phrase before considering it as a unit.

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significant limitation of the Jesus' interests with respect to Israel (cf. Cousland 2001:90–92). See further discussion below.

33   See also Jer 31:2–22; Amos 9:7–14; Hunziker-Rodewald 2001:91–95; Rusche 1979:110.

7.3.1 "The lost sheep"

The first question that can be addressed is the meaning of the head-nominal phrase "the lost sheep" (τὰ πρόβατα τὰ ἀπολωλότα): To what does this metaphor refer? Who are those characterised as "the lost sheep"? A handful of possibilities have been suggested by interpreters. First, A.-J. Levine argued that the group in view are the disenfranchised and marginalized of society: the poor, the sick and the outcasts.[34] These marginalized are set in contrast to their faithless shepherds, the elite.[35] S. McKnight similarly suggested that the phrase referred to those of Israel who have been "abused by the Pharisees".[36] And more recently A. von Dobbeler, wishing to bring out the social, religious and political aspects of the context, made the suggestion that "the lost sheep" were all those who were being led by Israel's abusive leaders.[37] These commentators take their cues for this interpretation in part from the link between 10:6 and 9:36. For these scholars the latter passage's depiction of the crowds, with the Matthean addition "harassed" and "helpless", points in this direction. Common to these views, also, is their conviction that the genitive phrase οἴ-κου Ἰσραήλ should be taken as a *partitive* (i.e., the lost sheep are a *subset* of Israel, but *not* all Israel).[38]

In contrast to this minority of voices, a thorough-going consensus has formed which sees the group referred to by the phrase "lost sheep" as *all Israel*.[39] This group of interpreters takes the genitive to be *epexegetical* rather than partitive.[40] That is to say, the label "lost sheep" is a characterization of the *whole nation*. One variation of the "all Israel" interpretation is the view of A. S. Geyser who suggested that "lost sheep" were "none other than the twelve tribes of Israel *in the Diaspora*".[41]

There are strengths on both sides of the question pertaining to the sense of the genitive as well as whether the group in view in the logion is to be nar-

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34   Levine 1988:14, 55–56.
35   Levine 1988:276.
36   McKnight 1986:204, 378.
37   von Dobbeler 2000:30.
38   In support of the partitive genitive see most recently Nolland 2005:416–17.
39   E.g. Boring 1995:265; Cousland 2001:91; Davies and Allison 1991:167; France 1985:178; Gundry 1994:185; Hagner 1993:270; Harrington 1991:140; Hill 1972:185; Hooker 1971:362; Légasse 1972:32; Lichtenberger 1997:277; Luz 2001:73; Overman 1996:150; Senior 1998: 115, 181; Weaver 1990:155, n. 6; 192, n. 63. See most recently Chae (2004:318) who, in spite of his study of the background material, surprisingly adds very little that is fresh to the discussion.
40   See Wallace's (1996:84–86; 95–100) accessible discussion of these two types of genitive phrases.
41   Geyser 1980:309–10, emphasis added. While others, like Hooker (1971:362), have been willing to suggest a symbolic interest in the regathering and reconstituting of political-national Israel, Geyser argues that Matthew's Jesus was not announcing a mere *symbolic* re-constitution of the nation, but a concrete one.

rowly or widely defined. Yet, not only is the sense of the genitive phrase sig-
nificant for interpretation, but so also is the meaning of the phrase "the house
of Israel". While we will soon turn to this genitive phrase, we can make some
judgement of the views put forward thus far for the meaning of the head-
nominal phrase.

First, the scholars that limit the scope of the "lost sheep" seem to be right
as they perceive, to varying degrees and in perhaps contrasting ways, the limi-
tations placed on the phrase by the narrative context of Matthew. For example,
in agreement with Levine, it seems clear that Jesus' mission as Matthew (and
the other synoptic Gospels) conceived it, was directed to the marginalised and
oppressed of *rural* Galilee.[42] Both W. Carter and P. Foster have noted Mat-
thew's antipathy for urban centres in their recent works and Carter reasons:

> As a Jew in the Roman-controlled territory, Jesus locates himself among the mar-
> ginal, with the poor not the wealthy, with the rural peasants not the urban elite,
> with the ruled not the rulers, with the powerless and exploited not the powerful,
> with those who resist imperial demands not enforce them ... [Matthew] continues
> the gospel's preference for the apparently small and insignificant places and peo-
> ple.[43]

What is more, Freyne has perceptively noticed that when one considers the
travels of Jesus in Galilee, it is obvious that he avoided the cities and urban
centres and focused instead on the rural Galilean villages and small towns.[44] It
is curious, for example, why none of the Gospel writers make any mention of
Sepphoris or Tiberias in spite of their prominence and their large Jewish popu-
lations.[45] While the exact reason for this avoidance of city centres is a matter
of some speculation, Freyne has argued that it is highly plausible that it was in
these Galilean rural areas that Jesus found those who were the most oppressed
of Jewish-Galilean society. In first-century Galilee it was in these rural areas
that Jewish people most palpably felt the hard realities of Herodian and Roman
oppression.[46]

It is true, as some ancient historians have pointed out, that there was a
symbiotic relationship between the countryside and the town in Greek and
Roman times. And this would be especially true of the wealthy landowners of

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42 Notwithstanding, scholars have observed the frequent use of πόλις in the First Gospel (26
    times) in comparison to Mark; see Gale 2005:44; Kingsbury 1988:152. However, Luke/Acts
    uses the term more frequently (80 times). Further, the term πόλις itself implies nothing of
    size and merely designates a "enclosed place of human habitation" as distinct from uninhab-
    ited areas, pastures, villages and single homes (Strathmann 1968:530).
43 Carter 2000:114; cf. Foster 2004:222.
44 Freyne 2004:76.
45 Freyne 2000:187.
46 Freyne 2000:197–206. While one might quibble with an appeal to Freyne's work on the
    historical Jesus, I think it is appropriate historical information for understanding Matthew's
    picture of Jesus, since I contend that Matthew was interested in the first instance with the
    story of Jesus not his own; see introduction for a discussion of my approach.

the countryside and the elite of the city. The landowners needed the cash-generating capacity of the urban economy, while the city needed the food-generating capacity of the country.[47] Yet, it seems that this was not the experience of most in the rural areas of Roman society as M. Corbier has pointed out. The relationship of a city to its surrounding countryside has been described by the label "consumer city".[48] Such a label reveals the domination and exploitation of a city over the surrounding countryside. Corbier writes:

> The temptation remains strong to restate the case for an "idyllic urban" vision of Roman society of the first centuries of the Empire. Yet cities could only live by siphoning off the resources of the country, and this did not only take the form of rents. They derived profit from the collection of taxes and its inequalities, and they also imposed more or less exceptional levies such as requisitions of grain.[49]

The perception of the limitation notwithstanding, the consensus of interpreters who take the phrase to refer to corporate Israel seem also to be correct when they notice the nationalism in the context. Furthermore, Geyser indeed appears to be correct to stress the physicality of the reconstituted Twelve Tribe kingdom of Israel. For the early Jewish Christians, according to Geyser, the restoration would not suffice to be merely symbolic or spiritual and transcendent. He states:

> Sheep and shepherd images for the people in exile were coined by the prophets in their "ingathering" prophecies. Jesus adopted it from them to proclaim the launching of the process. He and his Twelve and the Judean church *expected its materialization daily and fervently*.[50]

So, while there are strengths with each of these views, they lack the narrative contextual sensitivity that would allow any of them to be ultimately convincing. No view, of which I am aware, takes seriously the geographical implications of the context for the interpretation. If Matthew's Jesus was concerned primarily for the disenfranchised and marginalised of Israel, if he was chiefly pre-occupied with those who were suffering under the leadership of the Pharisees or other such elites of the day, if Jesus was principally interested in the regathering of the Diaspora, then how does one explain the limitation of Jesus' and the Twelve's mission to a very narrowly defined region of the northern territory of *Eretz Israel*? It would seem that if his primary task, according to Matthew, were of this sort, then he would have wished to travel more broadly through the length and breadth of the Land or even among the Diaspora.[51] However, there are not even hints of such travels recorded in Matthew, or any

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47 Wallace-Hadrill 1991:xvi.
48 See Wallace-Hadrill (1991:xv) who refers to Weber/Finley's concept; cf also Carter 2001: 47–48.
49 Corbier 1991:234.
50 Geyser 1980:309–10, emphasis added.
51 See a similar critique of Geyser's view by Davies and Allison 1991:551.

other Gospel for that matter. The geographical orientation of the narrative sug-
gests that there is something more going on.

The meaning of "the lost sheep", as has been widely noticed, is inextrica-
bly linked contextually to the shepherdless flock logion of Matthew 9:36 (see
discussion above). Further, in the Jewish Scriptures the idea of the shepherd-
less flock and a lost or scattered flock are used interchangably.[52] These con-
cepts are well-known in the Jewish Scriptures and we have already had occa-
sion in previous chapters to discuss the particulars.[53] From our study of
prophetic passages in chapter 2 as well as the background to the phrase "sheep
without a shepherd" in chapter 4 we can conclude that these attributes, bibli-
cally conceived, signify a condition of national Israel characterised by a vac-
uum of faithful, YHWH-sanctioned political leadership such that God's people
are defeated, oppressed, occupied and scattered among foreign enemies. What
is more, the categorisation of Israel as the lost or scattered flock was used of
Israel either narrowly to refer to the Northern Kingdom (1 Kgs 22:17/2 Chron
18:16; Jer 23:1–8; 31:1–22; cf. also Micah 5:3) or widely referring to both
Israel and Judah (Jer 50:4–7; 17–20; Ezek 34).[54]

While it is possible that Matthew intends to use the concepts differently
hereby filling them with a unique significance, our brief contextual sketch
above, and perhaps more crucially our discussion of the Shepherd-King motif
in Part 2, reveals that the First Evangelist shared the prophetic outlook when
he reflected on the present condition of the people of God.[55] Not unlike the
Sectarians at Qumran, Matthew has collapsed the historical distance between
his time and the time of the exilic and post-exilic prophets, thereby linking the
current condition of Israel with that of Israel's distant past.[56]

When the geographical orientation of the narrative is combined with this
political-national interest, a possible geopolitical referent for "the lost sheep",
not heretofore suggested, comes into view: the lost sheep are remnants of the
former Northern Kingdom of Israel. Not only would this group fit the narra-
tive-geopolitical constraints, but also the Northern Kingdom was expected to
be a significant body in Israel's future redemption as Matthew himself has
highlighted in his reuse of Isaiah 8:23–9:1. Thus, given these affinities with the
constraints of the narrative, it seems reasonable to assert that the political-
national entity in view in the nominal phrase "the lost sheep" is Israelites of

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52   See similarly Cousland 2001:90.
53   See chapters 2 and 4 of this thesis.
54   Notice that the phrase was never applied to Judah, the Southern Kingdom, alone; see discus-
     sion in ch. 2 of this thesis.
55   Especially note the discussion in ch. 3 on the genealogy in Matthew 1:1–17.
56   See Talmon's (1987:117) observation that the Qumran community linked their own genera-
     tion "directly" to the post-destruction generation and so "assumes the role that the postexilic
     biblical historiography (Ezra-Nehemiah, 2 Chron 36:22–23) and prophecy (Haggai, Zecha-
     riah, and Malachi) accord to the returnees from the Babylonian Exile in the early Persian Pe-
     riod".

the former Northern Kingdom of Israel who continue to reside in the northern region of *Eretz Israel*. In this way, Geyser was correct in suggesting Jesus' mission to "the lost sheep" was at its heart about the reconstitution of the twelve-tribe league. However, it was not to the Diaspora that Matthew's Jesus went (and sent his apostles), but rather to those who were within the ideal Land awaiting their redemption and the restoration of the united kingdom of Israel under a Davidic crown (see Amos 9:7–11). Besides the historical justification for believing that remnants of the former Northern Kingdom persevered into the late-Second Temple period, this view will find further validation in the genitive phrase "of the house of Israel".

7.3.2 "Of the house of Israel"

Under the rubric of the phrase οἴκου Ἰσραήλ three issues need to be discussed and argued for if the view espoused here will have any traction. First, it must be demonstrated that in the mid to late first-century A.D. there were Jews in the northern region of Israel who continued to see themselves as in some sense related to the old Northern Kingdom of Israel. Secondly, the phrase "house of Israel" must be shown to be open to a more narrow sense than all Israel. Thirdly, the genitive phrase is to be understood as epexegetical and not partitive.

In the first place, with respect to the presence of Israelites in Galilee who may have had a connection with the old Northern Kingdom, some scholars in the recent upsurge of Galilean studies have made the case that the evidence of a large Israelite population in Galilee in Hellenistic and Roman times was primarily the consequence of the Assyrian conquest; thus, they have argued for a high degree of continuity between the pre-Assyrian conquest population and the Second Temple population.[57] A critical reading of the evidence from Assyrian records, archaeology and the history of Israel in the biblical record, which assume the continuing presence of an Israelite population after the occupation,[58] have led R. Horsley to assert that the deportations in the eighth century were mainly of officials and skilled personnel with the result that "*much* of the Israelite population of Galilee must have remained in their villages" after the conquest.[59] Even before Horsley's judgement, Freyne argued similarly that "the old Israelite population of the interior of Galilee was able to survive relatively unscathed" the hour of crisis brought on by the Assyrian and subsequent occupations.[60]

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57 Freyne 1980; Horsley 1996.
58 See 2 Chron 30:10–11; 2 Kings 21:19, 23:26; 2 Chron 34:6
59 Horsley 1996:23, emphasis added.
60 Freyne 1980:38 (38–50).

More recently, however, M. Chancey has called Horsley's claim for a large Israelite population in Galilee into question by undermining Horsley's critical evaluation of the archaeological and literary evidence. Chancey marshals biblical evidence which suggests a wholesale deportation of Galilean inhabitants along with a more positive appraisal of the evidence from archaeology and Assyrian annuals.[61] He argues that while there were *indeed* remnants of a pre-Assyrian conquest population left after the invasion and deportation, the archaeological evidence quite unambiguously reveals a mostly desolate Lower Galilee from the end of the eighth century until the Persian period (ca. 593–332 B.C.), with the interior of Galilee remaining relatively sparsely populated even to the eve of the Maccabean campaigns.[62] Hence, the supposition that a large population of Israelites were left over after the Assyrian conquest as Horsley and others have argued cannot be maintained.

Nevertheless, all our sources attest to the fact that there *were* remnants of Israelites left behind in Lower Galilee after the Assyrian conquest.[63] These indigenous people, as R. Bauckham has asserted, would have made up part of the population of Galilee and its environs in the Second Temple period. Bauckham writes,

> The Galilean population in the first century BCE and the first century CE *would have included* remnants of the old Israelite population from the First Temple population ... it is quite possible that there were still prominent families who maintained the tradition of their descent from the old Israelite tribes of the Galilean area.[64]

Thus, while one must maintain the sober historical judgement of Bauckham on this issue, it is historically legitimate, given the evidence, to suppose that Matthew's Jesus, concerned as he was to announce the restoration of the kingdom, pursued Jews within Galilee "who maintained the tradition of their descent from the old Israelite tribes".[65]

In addition to the historical plausibility of our view, the meaning of the "house of Israel" needs to be addressed against the backdrop of Matthew's context and the biblical usage of the phrase. Interpreters of the logion have assumed that the "house of Israel" means "all Israel". In fact, frequently one

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61   Chancey 2002:32–33; see 2 Kings 15:29.
62   Chancey 2002:33–36; cf. similarly Gal 1992:108–09, 1998; Younger 1998.
63   This fact is also true of the Trans-Jordan as Oded (1970:183, emphasis added) has suggested: "Some of the Israelite-Judean population remained in Israelite Transjordania ... Some *of the population of the Peraia in the time of the Second Temple* were descended from the survivors of that part of the Israelite-Judean population which did not go into exile".
64   Bauckham 1997:165, emphasis added.
65   In 1949 Alt (1953:454–55) made a similar suggestion in discussing Matthew's Jesus' travels in the region of Tyre and Sidon (see more on this in ch. 8). He writes, "Es waren die nördlichsten Ausläufer der einstigen israelitischen Besiedlung und Reichsbildung, bis zu denen er so vordrang, und daß die Nachkommen der Stämme, die sich dort vor mehr als einem Jahrtausend niedergelassen hatten, trotz allen inzwischen eingetretenen politischen Veränderungen auch zur Zeit Jesu noch nicht restlos ausgestorben oder in andere Gegenden verzogen waren, haben wir bis zum Beweis des Gegenteils anzunehmen".

can find in the literature and translations the short-hand phrase "lost sheep of Israel".[66] The study of the narrative context, however, raises some doubt about this assumption and confirms H. Rusche's insightful comment that the meaning of the picture of the "house of Israel is difficult to determine: "Das Bild vom 'Hause Israel' ist viel schwieriger einzuordnen, auch wenn das auf den ersten Blick nicht so aussieht".[67]

Nearly sixty years ago, G. A. Danell demonstrated that the name Israel has several senses in the Jewish Scriptures. Besides the name of a person, the name "Israel" or "house of Israel" (the two are used interchangeably) can refer to (1) the union of tribes or the kingdom of David before the division of the kingdom, (2) northern Israel which could be either the Northern Kingdom after the division or simply northern Israelites in contrast to residents of Judah, or (3) the remainder of the people of Israel after the fall of the Northern Kingdom to the Assyrians in 722 B.C.[68] In this list, both numbers one and three refer to a corporate body and can be considered as the *wider* sense of the term Israel. In contrast, number two is a *narrow* designation which "came to be specifically attached to the northern tribes and later to the Northern Kingdom. During a long period the northern Israelites came to be called Israel in the strict sense in contrast with Judah".[69]

The narrow sense of the name Israel was carried on in the work of the early Hebrew prophets like Amos and Hosea and to some degree Jeremiah.[70] After the fall of the Northern Kingdom it became common to use the name Israel for all of Israel that remained, i.e. Judah, although the name was never completely taken over from the Northern Kingdom as Ezekiel attests.[71] Furthermore, a biblical author in a single context can jump from one sense to another without notice. Danell cautions: "The name has therefore both a wider and a narrower meaning. Sometimes it means the whole people, sometimes the non-Judaean section of it. The content of the name Israel *must therefore be judged from case to case*."[72]

A study of Josephus's use of the name Israel reveals that when he used the name he essentially followed the same pattern evident in the biblical material.

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66 See e.g. NIV.
67 Rusche 1979:110; Based on Exodus 19:3–6, Rusche (1979:111) asserts that the "house of Israel" has to do with the "Kingdom of God" (*Königtum Gottes*); however she makes no reference to the Northern Kingdom of Israel being identified by the appellation "house of Israel".
68 Danell 1946:9.
69 Danell 1946:288. Perhaps more accurately conceived, both Alt (1966:215) and Noth (1960:182) make the point that the distinction between a distinct political entity of "a house of Israel" over against a "house of Judah" can be traced back to a period prior to the reign of David.
70 Danell 1946:288.
71 Cf. Ezek 4:4–5; 9:9.
72 Danell 1946:86, emphasis added; cf also Alt 1966:215–16; Kallai 1998:150.

That is to say, he employed the name with a versatility characteristic of the Bible using both a wider and narrower sense.[73] What is more, computer based research revealed that his use of the name Israel was *restricted* to his narration of the scriptural accounts. Once Josephus completed his narrative of biblical history in the eleventh book of *Jewish Antiquities*, the name Israelite (Ἰσραη-λίτης) disappears from his corpus and is replaced with Jews (Ἰουδαῖοι).[74]

In light of this evidence, a Matthean interpreter must be cautious when confronted with the name Israel, especially in a document so steeped in the Jewish Scriptures. Not only should we expect Matthew to evince the same versatility in his use of the name Israel as Josephus and the Bible, but also given the contextual constraints of the narrative we may have enough evidence to read οἴκου Ἰσραήλ in the more narrow sense. Moreover, unlike Josephus, Matthew is happy to use the name Israel to discuss the contemporary history of Jesus. Matthew uses the term Ἰσραήλ twelve times, while using the alternative Ἰουδαῖοι five times and only in contexts where non-Jews are speaking, save one occurrence.[75]

Addressing Matthew's twelve uses of the name Israel on their own terms in the flow of his narrative may reveal that Matthew uses the name in both the wide and narrow sense. As we have already suggested the narrative context of the Gospel should exercise influence on the interpretation of the elements within the narrative. While never taking the focus off of Israel's national restoration, a line of development in the narrative can perhaps be seen. *Matthew's interest, with respect to Israel, moves from wide to narrow to wide again.*

The narrative opens with an account of the birth and early life of Israel's Messianic King (Matt 1:1–4:11). This Messiah, Jesus, contends Matthew, will save his people from their sins (1:21) and shepherd God's people Israel (2:6). After the short sojourn of Joseph and his family in Egypt they return again to the Land of Israel (2:20–21) settling in the northern region. The introductory material of the Gospel leaves no doubt that Matthew's Jesus is the Messianic King who has arrived to rescue and restore national Israel. Similarly, in his narration of Jesus' pilgrimage to Jerusalem, the Passion and resurrection, Matthew's interest in Israel is widely conceived (Matt 19:1–28:20). Indeed, there is a close relationship thematically between the beginning and end of the First Gospel.[76] The opening of the Gospel announces the salvation of Israel and the

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73   E.g. Israel referring to (1) the whole nation: *Ant.* 11:3; 11:70, (2) Judah (Southern Kingdom): *Ant.* 11:8, and (3) Northern Israel: *Ant.* 11:19.

74   The distribution of the two names for Israel in Josephus is informative. Ἰσραηλίτης (or some form) is used 174 times and *only* in *Ant.* Books 1–11. Whereas Ἰουδαῖοι (or some form) is used 630 times and at first is sparingly employed in the first 11 Books of *Ant.*, but then is used extensively throughout the rest the corpus. The research for this point was conducted on Accordance.

75   Cf. Matt 28:15. For a discussion of the possible implications of Matthew's use of the names Jews and Israel see Tomson 2001:276–79.

76   See similarly Senior 1982.

end depicts the beginning of its enactment. So, one would expect in the begin-ning and end of the narrative that Matthew uses the name Ἰσραήλ in the wider sense. This, of course, is exactly what one finds. Matthew uses Ἰσραήλ to refer to (1) a national entity in Matthew 2:6, 19:28, 27:9 and 27:42; and (2) a geopolitical entity in Matthew 2:20–21.

However, in the middle section of Matthew's story in the Galilean narra-tive we should be cautious to automatically assume that with the use of the name Ἰσραήλ or οἴκου Ἰσραήλ Matthew has the wider meaning in view. Within this section of the narrative Matthew uses the name six times: Matthew 8:10, 9:33, 10:6, 10:23, 15:24 and 15:31. Of these six, three seem to reflect the wider meaning of the name. Matthew 8:10 and 9:33 are parallel instances of the prepositional phrase ἐν τῷ Ἰσραήλ. From the context the name refers to ideal geopolitical Israel represented by the crowds (ὄχλοι) that have followed him from every corner of ideal Israel (Matt 4:23–25).[77] In addition, it appears that Matthew 15:31 also refers to Israel in the wider sense. In this verse again the crowd (ὄχλον) is in view and they glorify τὸν θεὸν Ἰσραήλ.

With respect to the other three occurrences of the name as each relates to the mission of Jesus and the Twelve in the Galilean region, a different sense of the term "Israel" may be perceived. From the contextual constraints of the Matthean narrative, the mission of Jesus and his disciples was not primarily directed to Israel in a wide sense. The mission of the Twelve (and Jesus, upon whom their mission is based)[78] was conducted in northern Israel. In light of these contextual factors alongside both the scriptural evidence for the narrow meaning of the name Israel and Matthew's national interests, it is reasonable to read the terms οἴκου Ἰσραήλ (Matt 10:6; 15:24) and Ἰσραήλ (Matt 10:23) as referring not to a widely conceived Israel, but to northern Israelites and the Northern Kingdom of Israel.[79]

Finally, the issue of the genitive requires a brief comment. As we noted above, the genitive phrase οἴκου Ἰσραήλ can either be taken as a partitive genitive (i.e., the lost sheep are a subset of Israel, but not all Israel) or as ep-exegetical/explanatory (i.e., lost sheep characterises the whole nation). While both are grammatically possible, the context again seems to confirm that the majority of scholars are correct to opt for the explanatory genitive.[80] This con-clusion rests firmly on the collective nouns "Gentiles" and "Samaritans" in the immediate context (Matt 10:5b). Since "the lost sheep of house of Israel" is in parallel with these collective nouns, it too should be understood collectively. Cousland writes, "The correlation of Israel with the 'Gentiles' and the 'Sa-

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77   See similarly Cousland 2001:64–65; Lohfink 1988:275–76.
78   See likewise Grundmann 1968:290; Gundry 1994:185; Légasse 1972:32; Sabourin 1977:591.
79   Contra Garbe (2005:147) who recently argued that "Israel" in 10:23 is not to be taken geo-graphically on the grounds that the phrase "lost sheep of the house of Israel" is not to be taken geographically; this argument is hardly decisive since the phrase is itself an enigma.
80   See note 39 above.

maritans' in 10:5 (cf. 15:24), where all Israel is contrasted with these two other ethnic groups, imparts a national significance to the phrase."[81] Yet, while agreeing that the term is collective and signifies a national entity, in view of the foregoing arguments, this is to be understood not as "all Israel", but rather as a political designation for remnants of the former Northern Kingdom of Israel.

7.3.3 "The lost sheep of the house of Israel"

In summation, I have offered a fresh reading of the phrase "the lost sheep of the house of Israel" in Matthew 10:6 which takes seriously the narrative context of Matthew's Gospel. When read within the contextual constraints of the First Gospel, "the lost sheep of the house of Israel" designates neither national Israel widely conceived nor merely a subset of the disenfranchised or oppressed within Israel. Rather the phrase refers to the oppressed and marginalised remnant of the former Northern Kingdom of Israel to whom Jesus sends his disciples to announce the soon-coming restoration of the political-national kingdom of Israel and to dispense the concomitant blessings of that kingdom.

7.4 The Restriction

As a test of the validity of the hypothesis just offered, as with any hypothesis, one must inquire whether it includes all the data.[82] Here we have in mind the restriction in the immediate context in Matthew 10:5. Does the hypothesis illuminate the significance of the restriction?

In recent discussions concerning the meaning of the restriction the issue has come down to whether the phrases εἰς ὁδὸν ἐθνῶν and εἰς πόλιν Σαμαριτῶν have primarily a *geographic* or *ethnic* reference. The meaning of the phrase εἰς ὁδὸν ἐθνῶν (lit. "into the way of the Gentiles) can be rendered "in the direction of the Gentiles" with the genitive phrase ὁδὸν ἐθνῶν possessing a directional sense.[83] Davies and Allison have suggested that the phrase relates to entering a Gentile town. They assert, "[the first prohibition] probably refers to a road leading into a Gentile city".[84] The meaning of εἰς πόλιν Σαμαριτῶν (lit. "into a city of the Samaritans") is either "a province ..." or "a city of the

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81   Cousland 2001:91; cf. similarly Weaver 1990:192, n. 63.
82   See Wright (1992:99–100) for the requirements of a good hypothesis.
83   Cf. BDF §166:92; see likewise Jeremias 1958:20; Overman 1996:147–48.
84   Davies and Allison 1991:165; cf. also Foster 2004:222.

Samaritans", since, as J. Jeremias has pointed out, the Aramaic word that pre-
sumably underlies πόλιν can be understood either way.[85]

Some scholars, like R. Gundry, take these phrases as a *geographic* prohibi-
tion implying that the disciples were not to go into any *territory* of Gentiles in
the north or Samaritans in the south; thus, the mission was restricted to the
region of Galilee.[86] Gundry believes the basis for this prohibition is in the ex-
ample of Jesus. He writes, "In this way Matthew indicates that their ministry
must follow the pattern of Jesus' ministry, which, he has already taken pains to
show, began in Galilee (4:14–16)."[87]

Another approach taken by scholars is to see εἰς ὁδὸν ἐθνῶν and εἰς
πόλιν Σαμαριτῶν as a synecdoche denoting the people groups in and around
the people of Israel. This view is based on the relationship between 10:5b and
6. The expression "the lost sheep of the house of Israel" of 10:6 is the positive
and emphatic side of the negative prohibition of 10:5b and the terms are anti-
thetically parallel.[88] J. A. Overman, a representative of this approach, writes:
"The dual terms 'Gentiles' and 'Samaritans' in 10:5 help us to see that Mat-
thew is contrasting three *ethne*, groups, or ethnicities: Israel, Samaritans, and
those people/lands that are not Jewish".[89]

Given our hypothesis a mediating position can be taken between the ethnic
and geographic poles. If what we have argued is correct that "the lost sheep of
the house of Israel" refers to remnants of the old Northern Kingdom residing in
the Land, then both the ethnic and geographic approaches *together* help ex-
plain the significance of the restriction. On the one hand, the mission that Jesus
sends the Twelve out on is clearly conceived as both ethnocentric and national
and, thus, ethnically restricted. Such a mission would by definition exclude
both the Gentiles and Samaritans.

On the other hand, the mission is also restricted geographically by the fact
that its focus is on the northern Israelites. Matthew's Jesus restricted the geo-
graphical area of mission based on the object of the mission. The disciples
were neither to go beyond the borders of ideal Israel to the Jewish Diaspora in
Gentile regions in the north or east, nor were they to conduct their mission in

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85 Jeremias 1958:20.
86 Gundry 1994:185; cf. likewise Freyne 1988:143; Jeremias 1958:20; LaGrand 1999:137;
    Overman 1996:148. See also recently Garbe 2005:147.
87 Gundry 1994:185; cf. likewise Schnabel 2002:292–93.
88 See Weaver 1990:84; 192, n. 64; also Levine (1988:55) writes, "Because of the parallelism
    with 10:6 as well as its role in the construction of the temporal axis, the reference to the gen-
    tile roads and Samaritan cities is appropriately expanded to include the native inhabitants of
    these areas. Consequently, the first part of the exclusivity logion, Matt 10:5b, negatively de-
    fines the parameters of the mission: the disciples are not to evangelize among the non-Jews
    (gentiles and Samaritans)".
89 Overman 1996:150; cf. similarly Radermakers (1972:139) who states, "Qu'il nous suffise ici
    de souligner la progression note aux vv. 5–6; chemin..., ville..., brebis...; les personnes impor-
    tant plus que l'aire géographique".

the region of the Samaritans in the south. Jesus, as the Messianic Shepherd-King, was sent (and sent his disciples) to the northern elements of the former kingdom of Israel to prepare them for the coming restoration of national Israel reunited under his Davidic leadership.

7.5 Conclusion

This chapter has sought to illuminate the meaning of "the lost sheep of the house of Israel" phrase in the logion of Matthew 10:5b–6. The approach taken in the chapter was to begin with an understanding of the context in which the logion is found. The near, wide and thematic contexts of Matthew 10:5b–6 placed certain constraints on the interpretation of the phrase which proved useful for ascertaining its meaning. Whatever one ultimately decides about the nature of the saying and the referent of the metaphor contained in it, the context required that the referent be a political-national entity, an important element in the expected restoration of Israel, a group located in the northern region of the Land and a body which formed an aspect of a concrete expectation of national restoration. The remnants of the former Northern Kingdom of Israel residing in rural Galilean villages and small towns were suggested to be the most plausible group which fit into the contextual constraints.

This exegetical hypothesis was shown to be plausible not only contextually, but also historically through appeal to the likelihood of an abiding presence of Galilean Jews who were linked to the former Northern Kingdom. Additionally, the meaning of "house of Israel" was shown to have both a wide and narrow sense, and, given the Greater-Galilean context of Matthew's narrative, it was argued that the phrase was best taken in a narrow sense for northern Israelites.

Finally, as an initial test of our hypothesis the restriction of Matthew 10:5 was explained in light of the fresh reading of the logion. When read with the new understanding of the logion, the restriction of the Twelve's mission was better explained as *both* geographic and ethnic, rather than as one or the other. In the next chapter further confirmation of the hypothesis will be sought through an examination of Matthew's second use of "the lost sheep of the house of Israel" phrased contained in a logion in the narrative of the Canaanite woman.

Chapter Eight

The Lost Sheep of the House of Israel
in Matthew 15:24

"He answered, 'I was sent only to
the lost sheep of the house of Israel'"
Matthew 15:24

8.1 Introduction

The last chapter and the present one are concerned with the central question of
the thesis: To what or to whom does the phrase "the lost sheep of the house of
Israel" refer (10:5b–6; 15:24)? The present chapter investigates the meaning of
"the lost sheep of the house of Israel" in its second occurrence in the First
Gospel. It comes within a restatement of the 10:5b–6 logion contained in
15:24:

> ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν · οὐκ ἀπεστάλην εἰ μὴ εἰς τὰ πρόβατα τὰ ἀπολωλότα
> οἴκου Ἰσραήλ.[1]

While differing in form due to the new setting, the logion in 15:24 is a "reex-
pression" of the former only now used by Jesus to characterize his own mis-
sion.[2]

A quick glance over the passage in question, Matthew 15:21–28, will eas-
ily reveal that the phrase is enmeshed in a logion of Jesus related to his Messi-
anic mission: "I was sent only to the lost sheep of the house of Israel", which
served as the second of three responses to the request of a woman Matthew
calls a "Canaanite" (γυνὴ Χαναναία). The focus of the rebuttal is Jesus' vo-
cation.[3] Clearly the phrase is tied, as it was in its first application, to Messianic
missional activity. However, outside of this observation the story is silent on
the question of the identification of the referent, as S. Love has also noted.[4] So,
what was true of Matthew 10:6, then, is also true here: The First Evangelist

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1   There are no significant textual variants for this verse. For all insignificant variants see
     Swanson 1995:147–48.
2   Cf. Levine 1988:141.
3   Cf. similarly Kick 1994:114; Patte 1987:221.
4   Love 2002:17.

takes for granted the meaning of the phrase. Whatever the phrase refers to in the present context, Matthew assumed his audience of Jewish believers in Jesus would know exactly to whom or to what he was referring.[5]

This dilemma requires an investigation of the most plausible identity of the group. Essentially, our only recourse is an appeal to the context.[6] This fact justifies the approach in both chapters that investigates the contextual situatedness – both historically and narratively – of the logion, as an initial step. The results of this preliminary investigation provide guideposts along which any plausible interpretation of the logion must run.

When this procedure was followed in the last chapter, a fresh hypothesis was suggested which asserted that the phrase refers to elements of the former northern kingdom of Israel known simply as "Israel" or "the house of Israel" in the Jewish Scriptures. This hypothesis rested on a contextual reading of the logion that stressed both the geographical orientation of Matthew's narrative and the Matthean Messianic Shepherd-King motif with its constitutive expectation of political-national and territorial restoration.

The study in this chapter will proceed in two stages. First, the chapter will consider the context of the logion in order to set the statement both within Matthew's larger narrative framework and within the story of the Canaanite woman in 15:21–28. Second, against the Matthean context, a reflection on the question of the referent of the logion in Matthew 15:24 will be addressed. Here I intend to make the case that Matthew's restatement of the phrase contained in the logion, while not providing any substantially new information beyond its first expression, further validates the interpretation suggested in the previous chapter.

An additional section of the chapter examines a potential parallel that may enlighten the reading of Matthew's story. Specifically, the parallel from *Psalms of Solomon* 17 has the potential to illuminate Matthew's presentation of Jesus' posture toward the woman and to connect it to a more widely held view in ancient Judaism.

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5   See the discussion of "authorial audience" in the introduction.
6   Gnilka (1992:32) comments similarly.

8.2 The Context of Matthew 15:24[7]

8.2.1 The Story within Matthew's Narrative Framework

The initial step in this study is to place the logion, and indeed the pericope of the Canaanite woman as a whole, appropriately within the narrative framework of the First Gospel. Taking a wide-angled perspective first, Matthew 15:21–28 sits within a narrative section comprising Matthew 14–17.[8] Moreover, this discrete narrative unit fits within the larger structural division of Matthew 4:12–19:1. This unit represents the most substantial section of the Gospel (541 verses) and consists of Matthew's account of Jesus' activity in Greater-Galilee: Galilee and the accompanying northern regions of the Land of Israel. The demarcation of the unit seems clear by the structural clues found in 4:12–17 and 19:1. Since I have discussed in detail this overarching structural unit elsewhere, I wish here only to remind the reader that Matthew's presentation of Jesus' activity in Galilee reveals his eschatological understanding of the significance of that activity.[9]

Since Matthew introduces the "Greater-Galilean" activity of Jesus with the programmatic quotation from Isaiah 8:23–9:1, it is perhaps right to think that he wishes the whole presentation of that activity to be defined in terms of that passage. In this way, Matthew understands the whole of Jesus' Galilean activity through the lens of Isaiah's prophecy and, so, both the narrative and discourse units comprising his presentation should be seen in light of this prophet-eschatological perspective. As I argued elsewhere, the use of the quotation from Isaiah to initiate the presentation of Jesus' activity in Galilee and

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7   The commonplace approach, which focuses its attention primarily on Matthew's redaction of Mark, is not followed here. For an explanation of this approach see the introduction of the thesis. For the typical redactional approach see most standard commentaries (cf. most recently Nolland 2005) as well as the following studies: Cortés-Fuentes 2001; Dermience 1982; Harrisville 1966; Levine 1988:131–64; Love 2002; Neyrey 1981; Overman 1996:228–32; Rusche 1979. One recent exception is Kick's (1994) innovated study.

8   Contra Levine 1988:155; see Black (2002:129–30) who notes the καί in 15:21 is initiating a narrative that is in continuity with what has gone before. She refers to this use of καί between narrative episodes at a higher level of discourse as "Episode-initiating καί". Describing Matthew's use of καί in this way she states, "In Matthew's Gospel καί sometimes functions this way at the beginning of individual units which form part of a series of episodes. When καί occurs at the beginning of a narrative episode in Matthew's Gospel, there is usually a geographic or spatial reference as well, moving the discourse on to a new setting". Black notes the frequent use of καί throughout the narrative section 14:1–17:27: 14:22 ("the other side"), 14:34 (Gennesaret), 15:21 (Tyre and Sidon), 15:29 (the Sea of Galilee), 15:39 (Magadan), 16:5 ("the other side"), 17:9 (genitive absolute of ἔρχομαι, but a spatial reference to coming "to the crowd" rather than a specific geographic reference). She summarizes, "When καί is used to introduce episodes in a series it signals that the episode it introduces is continuous with its literary context and contributes to the picture of Jesus and his actions that Matthew is developing in that narrative section".

9   See discussion in ch. 7.

its environs suggests Matthew's interest not only in the future salvation of Gentiles as most suggest, but perhaps even more so in the inauguration of the restoration of Israel, a restoration that is concerned with territory and the re-constitution of the twelve-tribe league of national-political Israel.[10] It appears that Matthew's narrative portrayal of the Galilean activity of Jesus is designed to emphasize the political-national significance of Jesus' mission. Thus, Jesus' movements to the far north-western regions of Tyre and Sidon, which are con-sidered within the ideal or utopian boundaries of the Land of Israel, should be seen in light of an eschatological-restorative perspective.

Turning to the immediate context of the passage, various relationships have been suggested for the connection of 15:21–24 with 15:1–20. One view is to see very little connection contextually between the story and what surrounds it. U. Luz has stated:

> The introductory v. 21 contains another withdrawal of Jesus like those of 12:15 and 14:13. The scene is thus changed from the preceding story ... After v. 28 the scene and the characters again change; thus the bracketing of the story in its imme-diate context is quite weak.[11]

This view, however, does not convince for at least two reasons. First, Matthew has demonstrated he is an artful narrator and it would be uncharacteristic and surprising to find a section so loosely tied together as Luz suggests. Second, as will become clear below, there are contextual connections at both ends of the pericope that can be readily seen; and while Luz is right to observe the scene and character changes, he too quickly allows the surface structure to blind him to the deeper connections.

Perhaps the more common view held by interpreters concerning the rela-tionship between the story of the Canaanite woman and its context is to see the discussion of purity laws and Jesus' seeming abrogation of them to naturally lead into a story about the salvation of a Gentile woman without any regard for Jewish legal code. C. Keener seems to suggest this when he states:

> Placed immediately after the discussion of purity in both Matthew and Mark, Je-sus' encounter with this Gentile woman brings out the implications the evangelist finds in his view of purity: Gentiles will no longer be separated from Israel.[12]

R. Gundry similarly asserts that Jesus' ministry to a Gentile in connection with the preceding intensification of dietary laws "erases the dietary demarcation between Jews and Gentiles".[13]

This view is equally insufficient as an explanation of the contextual rela-tionship as was the first for a number of reasons. First, the story of the Canaan-

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10   For argument see ch. 7 above.
11   Luz 2001:336.
12   Keener 1997:414; cf. also Albright and Mann 1971:188; Foster 2004:229; Gundry 1994:310; Hill 1972:253; Meier 1980:171.
13   Gundry 1994:310.

ite woman does not suggest what these commentators assert. The story does not in any way imply an *erasing* of distinction or separation. In point of fact, while the woman does receive what she requests by her great faith, the text is silent about her position vis-à-vis Israel. Moreover, the elements of the story, when compared with other similar healing stories in Matthew (cf. Matt 20:34), seem to cut the opposite way these interpreters suggest (see discussion below). Perhaps far from being erased, the distinction between Jew and Gentile is in fact up held.[14]

Second, this view takes for granted that the story of the Canaanite woman concerns the issue of Gentile entrance into the people of God vis-à-vis Israel. The story is seen to function as practical instruction (*Lehrgespräch*) on Jewish-Christian relationships in the early church.[15] To make this assertion most commentators appeal to a reconstructed post-70 A.D. situation believed to have led Matthew to address the subject of the inclusion of Gentiles because it had become the central question of his community. This approach to the interpretation of the story, however, is not only speculative since we cannot speak with that level of specificity about the real historical setting in which Matthew's Gospel was written,[16] but also potentially misleading since the interests of the passage may be obfuscated by a possibly unrelated conjecture.[17] To be sure, one can neither deny the presence of the constituent elements of a Jewish Jesus and a Gentile woman, nor ignore something of a temporal and ethnic force within the parable of the children and the dogs (15:26–27). However, the claim that this story is *primarily* about the "relative positions of Jews and Gentiles in God's plan of salvation" seems to be overstepping the evidence and obscuring the thrust of the story.[18]

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14 See approvingly Levine 1988:131, 2001:27–28. See also the difference in outcome of a story similar in details to this one: Matt 20:29–34. The blind men cried out similarly to the Canaanite woman: "Lord, have mercy on us, Son of David", but they "followed him".

15 See for example France 1985:246; Gnilka 1992:32; Hill 1972:253; Jackson 2002:58–59; Radermakers 1972:210–11.

16 I do believe, however, that a *general* sketch of the historical setting of the author and his ideal readership can be ascertained from the intention of the Gospel's narrative (see introduction). Elements of such a sketch include views about the author and audience's ethnicity, education, location and religio-political loyalties. However, specific details that depend on especially the dating of the Gospel such as the community's supposed opponents or its formative history are highly speculative (for the latter see e.g. Luz 2005:147–48).

17 See a similar critique offered by Howell (1990:23) about the general "traditional" approach to Matthean study.

18 Quotation is from Harrington 1991:236; see also Levine 1988:152. I disagree with a view like Overman (1996:231) which claims that the Gentile woman "becomes a follower and believer, if not a member, within the Matthean community". While it can hardly be denied that the woman is a believer (i.e. her great faith), the story gives no hint of her membership or discipleship. Hence, a view which sees the story as addressing the "question of gentile involvement" is not convincing. Rather than taking up the question as a point of discussion, Matthew's Jesus assumes a posture toward the Canaanite woman; there is no question.

The view that is most convincing asserts that Matthew 15:1–20 and 15:21–24 represent contrasting responses to Jesus on the part of the Jewish leadership and the Canaanite woman, since on the one hand it assumes the unity of the narrative composition. On the other hand, it does not inappropriately import historical reconstructions as evidence, but reads the story on its own terms. The purpose of such a contrast is to highlight the failure of Israel's leadership to recognize and acknowledge his Messianic identity and authority. D. Senior points in this direction in the following observation:

> The contrast is obvious between this Gentile woman's extraordinary faith and the stance of the religious leaders in the preceding story who were condemned for their hypocrisy and erroneous teaching.[19]

One can make the case for this view stronger with at least two observations. First, it can be recognized that this type of comparison is not unique to this passage and actually represents a motif in Matthew whereby Matthew sets the response of Gentiles in contrast to the leaders of Israel to expose the incredible depth of their failure. We have already had occasion to observe this kind of role the Magi played in Matthew 2:1–6.[20] We are able to add to the list the other positive reference to a Gentile in Matthew: the centurion of 8:5–13. Here too the recognition and respect of Jesus' Messianic identity and authority by this Gentile is set over against the "sons of the kingdom" (8:12), whose identity surely is not wholesale Israel, but those who have had the privileged position.[21] Although much more could be said about this Gentile motif in Matthew,[22] it suffices for our purposes to show that Matthew uses Gentiles in his narrative as foils to support his sustained argument against Israel's leadership.

The second observation both supports the first and solidifies the interpretation. The structure of the two sections, 15:1–20 and 15:21–28, points in support of the contrast suggested above. Taking the Canaanite woman story first, Matthew tells his readers in 15:21 that Jesus went away from one place and "withdrew" to the district of Tyre and Sidon.[23] Then, once there, a woman from that district *comes* to Jesus and cries out to him (15:22). So the setting provides a two-part structure: Jesus enters a place and then he is approached

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19 Senior 1998:180; cf. also Levine 1988:160–61.
20 See ch. 3 above.
21 Although acknowledging the formulaic contrast as I have, studies have wrongly taken it to be a contrast of faith between Judaism as a whole and Gentiles; see e.g. Trilling 1964:104. See also Levine's (1988:131–32) characterization.
22 For studies on the Gentiles in Matthew see Clark 1947; Cortés-Fuentes 2001; Jackson 2000; Scott 1990; Senior 1999; Sim 1995.
23 Note can be made of the observation by Levine (1988:133) that the verb "withdrew" (ἀναχώρησεν) has political implications in Matthew. Furthermore, Hare (1993:177–78) is probably right to suggest that it is more likely that the Matthean Jesus undertook this journey *not* to "evade" persecutors, but to "minister to the lost sheep of the house of Israel", since, as he points out, "a large Jewish population was to be found north of the Galilean border"; emphasis added.

and addressed. Turning now to the earlier story of the Pharisees and scribes, a similar structure of the setting is observed. However, it may be easily over-looked because of the versification, which in this case seems to obscure a proper reading of the whole. The story of the Pharisees and scribes begins not at 15:1, but in 14:34. This is confirmed linguistically with the "Episode-initiat-ing καί"[24] as well as by considering the similarity of structure in the setting whereby Jesus arrives at a place (14:34) and then is approached and addressed (15:1–2).[25] In this way, it appears that Matthew has structured his stories such that the differences between the two parties' approach to Jesus is exposed.[26]

When one turns attention to the passage succeeding the Canaanite woman narrative, namely, Matthew 15:29–39, a deeper understanding of the 15:24 logion is gained. Having established Jesus' vocation with the logion in 15:24, Matthew then shows Jesus fulfilling that vocation in his healing and feeding of the crowds. T. Donaldson observes a thematic connection that moves from the statement of Jesus' mission to "the lost sheep of the house of Israel" (15:24) to the report in the summary of Jesus' ministry to "large crowds" (15:29–31) to the feeding of those large crowds in the last pericope (15:32–39). According to Donaldson, it becomes clear in the framing of the pericopae that "the lost sheep of the house of Israel" are the crowds whom Jesus heals and feeds. He states:

> There can [sic] even less doubt in Matthew than in Mark that the debate between Jesus and the woman concerning who is to be fed is meant to point ahead to the miraculous feeding that follows. So the crowds who gather to be fed in v. 30 are "the lost sheep of the house of Israel" of v. 24.[27]

In addition, the activities of healing and feeding take place on a mountain (15:29). This note proves significant in light of the prophetic expectations of eschatological restoration especially in Ezekiel 34:13–16 (cf. also Isa 35) – expectations that we have already considered.[28] According to such expecta-tions, Israel would be healed and fed on the mountains of Israel by YHWH and his eschatological Davidic Shepherd-King. Thus, the obvious connection be-tween Matthew 15:21–28 and 15:29–39 heightens not only the eschatological significance of the vocational statement of Jesus in 15:24, but also further roots it within the prophetic traditions of the Messianic Shepherd-King.

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24   Black 2002:129.
25   The intervening verses 14:35–36 raise no barrier to the structure suggested. The purpose of these verses is to provide a more colourful setting within which to place the dialogue between Jesus and the Jewish leaders. In addition, the groups discussed in these intervening verses are not said to "come" to Jesus.
26   See similarly Gnilka 1992:32; Hare 1993:179; Patte 1987:220–21. Notice should be taken of this structure also in 15:39–16:12 where Jesus enters the region of Magadan and the Phari-sees and Sadducees approach Jesus (16:1).
27   Donaldson 1985:130.
28   See ch. 2 of this thesis; also Donaldson 1985:128.

8.2.2 Story of the Canaanite Woman

The contextual orientation to the logion of 15:24 continues with a consideration of fundamental elements of the story of the Canaanite woman in 15:21–28. The first elements significant to the presentation of the story for our interests are the setting and the identity of the main characters involved. The story presents the reader with events that take place in an area designated as "the district of Tyre and Sidon" (τὰ μέρη Τύρου καὶ Σιδῶνος).[29] In addition, the reader is introduced to the two main characters in the story; the first is Jesus who is said to have withdrawn into the region (15:21).[30] He is called both "Lord" (3 times: 15:22, 25, 27) and the "Son of David" (15:22).[31] The other character is a woman who is identified as a "Canaanite woman" (γυνὴ Χαναναία).[32]

The relationship between the setting and the primary characters in the narrative are generally understood by commentators in one of two ways.[33] Either the narrative has been constructed based on his Markan source (Mark 7:24–30) in order to underline the primacy of the Gentile mission[34] or to validate the temporal "choseness" of Israel in salvation History and its temporal priority

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29 The phrase "Tyre and Sidon" (Τύρῳ καὶ Σιδῶνι) is also used in Matt 11:21–22. Mussies (1997:264) avers the difficulty of determining the function of "Tyre and Sidon" in this pericope.

30 A question of some debate is whether Jesus did or did not enter a Gentile region. The controversy centres on whether the woman "came out" of the region to meet Jesus (i.e. left the region to meet Jesus in a borderless "no-man's land" between Jewish and Gentile territories) or whether Jesus entered and sojourned in the region for sometime (cf. 15:21–22). Some commentators reject the latter view, so it appears, in order to rescue Jesus from being accused of contradicting his own restrictions (cf. 10:5) by entering a Gentile territory (e.g. Meier 1980: 171; Mello 1999:286; Sabourin 1977:746; Senior 1998:180). Others who wish to stress Matthew's interest in a Gentile mission refuse to limit Jesus' activity to Jewish territories and instead believe Matthew has gone to some lengths to stress Jesus' entrance into the region (e.g. Gundry 1994:310; Hill 1972:253–54; Luz 2001:338). The view taken here is in line with the latter position, although, given my view of the geographical orientation of Matthew, I hold the view for different reasons which will become clear below. Still, grammatically speaking it is difficult to see how the Greek implies anything more than the straightforward assertion that Jesus was in the region and a woman out of that region came to him. Furthermore, it is not beyond doubt that Tyre and Sidon should be understood in Matthew as quintessentially Gentile despite an appeal to Matt 11:21–22 (contra e.g. Gundry 1994:310; Luz 2001:338; Senior 1998:180–81).

31 This is not the first time in Matthew's narrative that Jesus is called by either the title "Lord" (κύριε) (7:21–22; 8:2–8, 21, 25; 9:28; 14:28–30; 15:22–27; 16:22; 17:4, 15; 18:21; 20:30–33; 26:22) or "Son of David" (υἱὸς/οὖ/ῷ Δαυίδ) (1:1; 9:27; 12:33; 15:22; 20:30–31; 21:9–15).

32 Χαναναία is a hapax legomenon, although the word Χανάαν appears twice in Acts (7:11; 13:19).

33 Possible exceptions to this generalisation would be the recent more extreme postmodern readings of the story such as Dube 1996, 2000; Guardiola-Sáenz 1997; Wainwright 1994; cf. also Levine 2001 discussion.

34 See Bonnard 1963:231; Davies 1993:115; Downing 1992:143.

over Gentiles.[35] While there are perhaps insights to be gained in both conceptions, neither takes notice of the long standing connection the conglomeration of the terms "Tyre and Sidon", "Canaanite" and "Son of David" have in the Jewish Scriptures. Interpreters of all ilks seem to have either overlooked or not taken sufficient account of the relationship these terms have in the historical narrative of David and Solomon's reign in Samuel and Kings. The common approach to these locutions is to discuss them independently of each other without any reflection on their interconnectedness.[36]

It is possible that for a Jewish reader steeped in the Scriptures[37] these terms taken together would remind them of the golden age of the Davidic-Solomonic Empire and both the territorial dimensions and diverse population of its vast kingdom. The scriptural narrative concerning Israel's political-national development teaches that after David was appointed king of both Israel and Judah, he undertook military campaigns against the Philistine city-states on the western coast. The domination that Philistine city-states exercised over the fledgling nation was overturned by David's military prowess and the balance of power in the region "was now advancing ... toward the interior of Palestine, from the plains to the mountains".[38]

David, however, did not annex the city-states into Israel's kingdom. According to the narrative, they became vassals of Israel's kingdom while maintaining their own semi-independent, political life.[39] In contrast to this, it seems that the Canaanite peoples, who resided in the plains on the north-western coast of Israel, being formerly controlled by the Philistines, were directly incorporated into the expanding kingdom of Judah and Israel.[40] While there is no direct information concerning the process by which David integrated these Canaanite city-states – whether by military force or diplomacy – the far north-western borders of the expanding kingdom of Israel under David are possibly implied in the description of David's census in 2 Samuel 24:6–7:

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35   See Guardiola-Sáenz 1997:70–71; Levine 1988:163, 2001.
36   An example of this approach is Jackson's (2002) recent study on the story where she devotes a chapter to the meaning of the phrase "Tyre and Sidon" and one to the term "Canaanite", without perceiving their relationship in the David and Solomon history. Surprisingly, Nolland (2005:632) while noting that in 2 Sam 24:7 "Tyre" and "Canaanite" appear in close connection, he neither makes reference to the fact that Sidon is also close at hand (2 Sam 24:6) nor does he perceive this connection as significant in spite of Matthew's obvious reference to the son of David in the context (cf. Kick 1994).
37   Rusche (Rusche 1979) puts it well when she says that the Jewish Scriptures (*Heilige Schrift*) served as a key (*Schlüssel*) for the first readers and hearers of the Gospel: "Und was sie uns voraushatten, ist ein Schlüssel, den anzuwenden ihnen große Freude machte: Sie erschlossen mit der Heiligen Schrift von damals, dem Alten Testament, was ihnen als Zeugnis aus dem Leben Jesu angeboten wurde. Anders ausgedrückt: Sie konnten, indem sie heilig Vertrautes 'erinnerten', den Zugang zu Neuem gewinnen".
38   Alt 1966:220.
39   Cf. 2 Sam 8:1; see similarly Aharoni 1979:294; Alt 1966:221–22; Noth 1960:192.
40   See Aharoni 1979:294–96; Alt 1966:222; Kallai 1986:38–39; Noth 1960:192.

> Then they came to Gilead, and to Kadesh in the land of the Hittites; and they came
> to Dan, and from Dan *they went around to <u>Sidon, and came to the fortress of <u>Tyre</u>
> and to all the cities of the Hivites and <u>Canaanites</u>.*[41]

Among commentators on the passage though, there is an ongoing debate about
the exact meaning of this description in geographical terms and, consequently,
there is disagreement about the extent of the north-western border of the Da-
vidic-Solomonic Empire. The question is: Does the border run to the boundary
of the Sidonian territory which more or less coincides with the Litani River[42]
or does it rise northwest even to the city of Sidon?[43] The text gives us very
little help since the meaning of the preposition "around to" (סָבִיב) is elusive.[44]
So the meaning rests solely on how one understands the name "Sidon". Is it the
city or is it the territory? Does it convey an abutment on the territory of Sidon,
or does it include Sidon?

R. Gordon believes it to be the former and can strongly assert, "Tyre and
Sidon were *never* included within the kingdom of Israel, nor is this implied in
the references to them in verses 6f".[45] Yet this statement may prove too nega-
tive an assessment in light of Z. Kallai's arguments about the extent of the
northern boundary of the kingdom recorded in 2 Samuel 24:6 in view of the
allotment of Asher recorded in Joshua 19:24–31 and Judges 1:31 (cf. Josh
13:6). Based on the comparison of these texts Kallai convincingly argues that
"Sidon the Great" is both part of the allotment given to the tribe of Asher as
well as within the territory of the kingdom of Israel.[46]

In Kallai's discussion of David's census he points out that the census sta-
tions were situated *in* Israelite territory and this is born out by the fact that "in
other parts of the account the author makes no attempt to define the area cov-
ered by the census with the help of localities or regions outside Israel's bor-
ders".[47] Therefore, he asserts:

> It follows that Sidon (or Great Sidon) – and likewise the fortress of Tyre – were
> situated within the area covered by the census ... This implies that the territory held
> by the Israelites extended north of Tyre, including Sidon, and that only the island
> of Tyre, and possibly a narrow strip of coast near it, remained outside Israelite ter-
> ritory.[48]

Following Kallai's argument, then, the Davidic Empire's northern border
would have extended as far as Sidon, and the Canaanite city-states along the

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41   Compare with the expansive boundaries of the Davidic-Solomonic Kingdom in the descrip-
      tion in 1 Kings 5:1 discussed in ch. 6 above.
42   So see Aharoni 1979:297, 2000:81.
43   So see Kallai 1986:38–39.
44   Cf. Stoebe 1994:521.
45   Gordon 1986:318, emphasis added; cf. likewise Katzenstein 1973:106; Stoebe 1994:521.
46   Kallai 1986:212–15.
47   Kallai 1986:38.
48   Kallai 1986:38–39; cf also Kallai's (1986:223) discussion of the "narrow strip of coast"
      along the west that was likely outside Israel's territory.

western coast would have been enfolded into the Israelite kingdom under David and Solomon's reign.[49]

M. Noth agrees:

> Israelite tribal territory and Canaanite city territories together constituted the territory of the kingdom of Israel ... the Israelites had achieved a final victory over the old Canaanite population and the kingdoms of Israel and Judah had received a generous accession of territory.[50]

If the setting and characters of the Matthean pericope are set against this background, the story takes on a significance hithertofore unrecognised. Against this backdrop the locution "Tyre and Sidon" is less a veiled reference to a Gentile mission[51] and instead perhaps serves to recall the extreme northern boundaries of David's kingdom. This outlook, of course, is consistent with a Jewish perspective which includes territorial restoration as argued elsewhere and could at the very least imply that Matthew's Jesus traversed this far flung region in order to reach out to remnants of the former Northern Kingdom of Israel.[52]

A. Alt suggested something similar already in 1949 in his book *Die Stätten des Wirkens Jesu in Galiläa*, though admittedly without producing significant textual evidence, when he noted that not only was this region formerly occupied and settled by the tribes of Israel, but even into the time of Jesus there would have been an abiding presence of Jews in this region connected to this old Israelite kingdom.[53] And a decade or so later, J. Jeremias noted that at the time of Jesus the territories of Tyre and Sidon extended to the far east, such that Tyre stretched over the whole of the northern district of upper Galilee as far as the basin of Lake Huleh, and Sidon extended as far as the territory of Damascus.[54]

Furthermore, he asserted, again with not much by way of evidence, that the region lying between Galilee and Caesarea Philippi had once been part of the kingdom of Israel and that in the time of Jesus it was *still* mainly inhabited by the descendants of the northern Israelite tribes.[55]

In like manner, the moniker "Canaanite" is not merely a matter of Matthew "archaising" in order to evoke images of Israel's enemies,[56] but rather

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49   Cf. similarly McCarter 1984:509–10.
50   Noth 1960:193.
51   See e.g. Carter 2000:321; Cortés-Fuentes 2001; Gundry 1994:310; Hare 1993:178; Harrisville 1966; Jackson 2002:42–43, 58; Luz 2001:338; Neyrey 1981; Radermakers 1972:211.
52   For a discussion of the conception of the borders of ideal Israel in ancient Judaism refer to ch. 6 of this thesis.
53   Alt 1953:454–55.
54   Jeremias 1958:36; cf. also Davies and Allison 1991:546; Mussies 1997:266.
55   Jeremias 1958:36.
56   Cf. Boring 1995:336; Davies and Allison 1991:547; Grundmann 1968:376; Keener 1999:414; Meier 1980:172; Nolland 2005:631–32; Senior 1998:181.

Matthew's *scripturalising*[57] suggests the conclusion that the story *concerns Israel's kingdom and non-Israelite subjects within it.*[58] Related to this is Kick's recent argument that Matthew's term "Canaanite" should be understood as a reminder to his readers of YHWH's land promise to Israel seen in texts like Deuteronomy 11:12 and Leviticus 25:23.[59] The two interests of Land promise and kingdom are inextricably linked. In chapter 6 we pointed to the ancient Jewish view that the restoration of Israel territorially often took the shape of the Davidic Empire's territorial borders.[60]

So, in view of Matthew's belief in the soon-coming (and present) kingdom of God/Israel,[61] the exchange between Jesus and the Canaanite woman provides confirmation to a Jewish reader of Jesus' Messianic identity. The Canaanite woman is portrayed as submitting to Jesus' authority as the Davidic Son in an area where the rule of David once reached. While the leadership of Israel rejected Jesus' identity and authority, the Canaanite woman acknowledged and appealed to it. If Israel was being restored through the Messianic activity of Jesus as Matthew seems to think, could not that restoration be exemplified in just such a story as the one Matthew has provided here? It is probable, then, that this story is *apologetic*, but perhaps not in the way most modern readers have thought; not an apology for a Gentile mission.[62]

Before moving on to a discussion of the logion, another important narrative element to briefly discuss is the Canaanite woman's appeal: "Have mercy on me, O Lord, Son of David; my daughter is severely oppressed by a demon" (Matt 15:22). Matthew depicts the woman making her appeal based upon the merciful character of God and echoing the language of the Psalms.[63] Mercy and compassion are important themes in the First Gospel,[64] and significant is the fact that within most of these contexts the title "Son of David" is also present.[65] So, Matthew's portrayal of the Gentile woman, consistent with this overall theme, is one in which the she exhibits "an exemplary *Jewish* faith" in that she recognises "the saving intervention of the God of Israel through his

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57   A term I created to distinguish my view from those who use "archaising". While the function of two terms is the same, i.e., using a familiar scriptural term to designate the identity of the woman, I wanted to avoid the word "archising" because it is so closely linked with the idea that "Canaanite" evokes images of Israel's enemies; cf. likewise Davies 1993:115.

58   See Levine's (2001:40) perceptive comment, although she clearly arrives at different conclusions evinced by the following: "By labelling the woman a Canaanite, Matthew refuses to dismiss the non-Jewish population of the land".

59   Kick 1994:110–11.

60   See ch. 6; Hengel 2000:171.

61   See ch. 6 above.

62   Levine (2001:34) similarly comments: "Matthew has not written a multicultural Gospel; Matthew has written a narrative of promises to Israel".

63   See similarly Jackson 2002:113–26; Nolland 2005:632.

64   The verb "to have mercy" (ἐλεέω) is found in 9:27; 15:22; 17:15; 20:30, 31; the verb "to have compassion" (σπλαγχνίζομαι) is found in 9:36; 14:14; 15:32; 17:20; 20:34.

65   See e.g. 9:36; 15:32; 17:20; 20:34; for discussion see Duling 1992:112; Love 2002:17.

messiah".[66] Indeed, on the basis of this faith (μεγάλη σου ἡ πίστις) Jesus grants her request (Matt 15:28).[67] In other words, as M. Kick persuasively argues, the Gentile woman "stands near" (*nahestehen*) the Jewish eschatological outlook of Matthew's Jesus; the woman shares the same perspective and sees her salvation as tied up with Jesus' successful completion of his vocation to shepherd Israel. He writes:

> Sie weiß, daß er gerade deshalb ihr helfen kann, weil er zu den verlorenen Schafen des Hauses Israels geschickt ist. Nur wenn er diese Aufgabe erfüllt, macht es einen Sinn, ihn zu bitten: "Herr, hilf mir!", denn an der Erfüllung dieser Aufgabe ist der gute Hirte ja gerade zu erkennen.[68]

Evidence of her Jewish faith is seen in two ways.[69] First, her approach and address before Jesus were appropriate to his identity as God's Messiah: she prostrated herself (15:25), and acknowledged him to be Israel's legitimate king (15:22) and recognised his lordship (note the use of "Lord" three times in the context: 15:22, 25, 27).

In addition, when her request was refused by Jesus' Israel-centric statement of vocation and the accompanying parable about the children and dogs (15:24, 26), she acknowledged her nationality and willingly submitted herself to Israel's Messianic Shepherd-King.[70] Her response to Jesus' rebuttal reveals that, although acknowledging the centrality of Israel, she asserts that she is included at Israel's table, albeit as one of Israel's "puppies" (κυνάρια).[71] Her

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66   Both quotations are from Nolland 2005:632, emphasis added. Some commentators, like Love (2002:17–18), have had difficulty accepting that a Gentile woman would have understood the significance of the terms "Lord" and "Son of David". Hence, they suggest that she understood them in another a way that was free from the Jewish Messianic meaning. The fact of the matter is, whether or not the woman in *actuality* understood the Messianic significance of the terms is unknowable and irrelevant. Clearly, Matthew exploited their full Messianic implications.

67   Cf. similarly Patte 1987:222

68   Kick 1994:113; cf. also Wilk's (2002:146) summary: "Nur als Christus für Israel ist Jesus der 'Herr' auch für die Völker; 'Heil' im eigentlichen Sinn kann 'Heiden' deshalb erst aufgrund der Vollendung seiner Sendung zu Israel zukommen".

69   Jackson (2002) has made the case that this story represents a conversion to Judaism; in effect the woman has become a proselyte. She writes, "the evangelists redaction of this story places proselytism into Judaism at the very center of Matthew's concerns" (2000:946). For a concise summary of her thesis see Jackson 2000:945–46. Yet, Nolland's critique is legitimate: "despite her very Jewish faith, the Canaanite woman becomes a beneficiary of Jesus' ministry not as a freshly made Jewess, but as a Gentile" (2005:636, n. 217; cf. also Nolland 2004).

70   Nolland (2005:635) is exactly right to translate the opening words of Matthew 15:27 (ναὶ κύριε, καὶ γάρ) as: "Yes, Lord, to be sure". As rationale for his translation he states, "following a linking καί ('and'), it introduces what is to be seen as an implication drawn out from what has been affirmed".

71   Much notice has been taken of the diminutive κυνάριον instead of κύων (used in 7:6). Swanson's (1958) suggestion that the diminutive form expressed, not small size, but endearment, and meaning "pet dog", as opposed to κύων which "has a neutral or bad sense" has been followed by most. The sense of the diminutive in the NT passages has been understood as meaning "puppies" or "little dogs" motivated either by a desire to soften the saying by avoiding κύων or by a necessary lexical choice when describing dogs that could be present at

agreement with Jesus' parable, however, was to a different effect (15:26). She shows that she understood herself to be a part of the "house of Israel";[72] admittedly not one of the lost sheep, she asserts that she is nonetheless allowed access to the bread crumbs from the master's table.[73] Applying the very parable Jesus used, the woman asserts that she can participate as a Gentile within the "house of Israel". Just as a "puppy" participates in the household of a family around the master's table receiving what is appropriate to it, so the woman participates as a Gentile within the house (or kingdom) of Israel receiving the share of the Messianic Kingdom appropriate to her. In this way, D. Hill is probably right to suggest that "crumbs" do not imply the woman received only a fragment of what is given to Israel. The point, according to Hill, is that "their needs are adequately met".[74]

What is insightfully recognised by Kick is that the author *affirms* the points of view of *both* main characters.[75] Matthew's story places the vocation (*die Aufgabe*) of Jesus for "the lost sheep of the house of Israel" alongside the Canaanite's request for the life of the Messianic age. The latter is not superseded or abrogated by the former, but is the very basis on which the latter is made possible. Together they are the complete picture of the coming of the kingdom of God according to Matthew.[76]

What seems to suggest itself from these observations of the narrative elements is that the message of this story is a national one.[77] Matthew's characters related to each other in political-national terms. Under the hegemony of the Israelite kingdom, King Jesus associated with a Canaanite – not merely a woman or one marginalised, although she was both.[78]

Matthew tells a *Jewish* story about Israel's Davidic Messiah, Jesus, in which he extends mercy to a non-Jewish subject granting her request. His action was, perhaps to the surprise of some, the result of the woman's resolute act and proper political Israel-centric outlook:[79] she acknowledged her subordinate national identity vis-à-vis Israel and addressed Jesus in those terms

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a home meal; cf. Connolly 1987:158; Davies and Allison 1991:553; Gundry 1994:315; Keener 1999:417; Luz 2001.

72 See Nortjé-Meyer (2000:71) who comments similarly, though she concludes something quite different.

73 See similarly Mello 1999:287–88; Radermakers 1972:211; Wilk 2002:146. Contra Sim 1998: 224; cf. also Davies and Allison (1991:556) who think that Jesus finally just gave in to the woman.

74 Hill 1972:254.

75 Kick 1994:113.

76 Far from a replacement of Israel by an abstract idea of "faith", Kick (1994:114) rightly thinks that this Matthean text describes the coexistence (*ein Miteinander*) of Jewish faith and the Gentile Christian faith on the foundation of Israel's faithfulness to YHWH and YHWH's promise of faithfulness to Israel.

77 Cf. likewise Levine 2001:39.

78 See similarly Levine 2001.

79 Cf. Levine 2001:36.

without once doubting her right to a share in the powers of the Messianic age.[80] The narrative, then, stands as an *apologia* for Jesus' identity as the long-awaited and legitimate monarch of Israel's soon-to-be-restored kingdom. No doubt, too, it reveals that Gentiles have a right to exist and participate in the Messianic age by adopting the appropriate posture toward Israel's Messiah.

8.3 "The Lost Sheep of the House of Israel"

Turning now to the central question of the chapter, what have we gained from the context which would place one in a better position to address the question of the referent of the phrase? Several points suggest themselves that have a bearing on the interpretation of the phrase. First, there appears to be a political-national edge to the story. Two observations expose this quite clearly. On the one hand, the Matthean story is a politically charged exchange between the kingly figure of Jesus, the Shepherd-King on a mission to Israel (or a particular group within it), and a non-Jewish figure, a Canaanite woman. On the other hand, the story's setting within the district of Tyre and Sidon heightens the political-national significance since from the perspective of Israel's history, it was not only formerly a part of the Davidic Kingdom, but also land promised to Israel by God.

Second, and as a corollary to the previous point, the story exhibits a central interest in the Davidic Messiah. Based on our study in chapter 6, the interest in Davidic Messiah suggests what we have here is what L. Schiffman called "restorative" Messianism, which is the view that the future will involve the restoration of the Davidic Kingdom in the Land of Israel.[81]

Third, there is a decidedly northern geographical orientation in the narrative. Jesus' missional activity, according to Matthew, takes him outside the borders of the Judea of his day to the far northern reaches of what was the kingdom of Israel.

Fourth, the eschatological significance of Jesus' activity in the Greater-Galilean region which Matthew developed in the introductory section (cf. Matt 4:12–17) orients the reader to comprehend this story within Israel's metanarrative and its hoped-for national-political restoration.

It should be no surprise that these three points resemble the constraints identified in the study on Matthew 10:5b–6 and can serve in a similar fashion here. Whatever else might be said about the identity of the phrase it seems that it must, at the very least, (1) refer to a political-national entity, (2) encompass a group that is both significant in the expected restoration of territorial and na-

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80   See similarly Wilk 2002:146.
81   Schiffman 1994:317–18; cf. ch. 6.

tional Israel and one that resides in the northern region of the former Davidic Empire, and (3) function to support a tangible eschatological expectation of Israel's restoration in the form of a reconstituted Davidic Kingdom.

From these contextual parameters we can readily exclude non-national or non-political readings of the phrase. Readings of the phrase can be deemed inadequate which posit the identity of the group to be "sinners" in a merely religious sense or some other marginal and disenfranchised non-political or religious group within Israel.

In the end only the two interpretive options which stress national Israel are left as possibilities for the meaning of the phrase. Both these options have been described in the previous chapter and will be reviewed here. The "lost sheep of the house of Israel" refers either to national Israel in a corporate sense, i.e. "all Israel", or, as I newly suggested in chapter 7, remnants of the former Northern Kingdom of Israel residing in Galilee and its environs.

Admittedly, a completely satisfactory or conclusive answer to the question of the identity of "the lost sheep of the house of Israel" in Matthew 15:24 will not be forthcoming given the fact that very little is explicitly stated about the nature of this group. It is quite possible, as a majority of commentators have suggested, the Matthean Jesus' mission was to the *whole* of national Israel. Interpreters of this persuasion can make appeals to texts in Matthew where Israel is undoubtedly conceived of as a holistic national entity (e.g. 2:6; 19:28; 27:9, 42). What is more, there is no doubt that the interest of the Gospel as a whole is singularly concerned with the restoration of Israel (cf. 19:28).

Yet, there is the unavoidable geographical question which I raised in chapter 7 that has not been given adequate treatment. To state it again, if the Matthean Jesus' mission was to all Israel, both to gather and restore, why does he not go to all of Israel? Why is the Matthean Jesus' mission so exclusively oriented toward the northern region of the Land? Is it perhaps because the Matthean Jesus' Messianic activity was *temporally* focused on the announcement and display of the soon-coming Messianic Kingdom of God/Israel (Matt 4:17; 10:7) to the remnants of the former kingdom of Israel continuing to reside in the northern regions of the Land?

It is justified here to correct a common error among many commentators. I wish to make the point, as I have elsewhere, that the Matthean Jesus is precisely *not* portrayed as *gathering* the lost sheep, contrary to many, but rather the Matthean Jesus is *going* to them.[82] According to Matthew the eschatological gathering is yet future at the eschatological banquet (8:11–12) and at the appearance of the Son of Man on the clouds (24:30–31).

It is suggested here that while not downplaying or in anyway denying the fact that restoration of "all Israel" geo-politically is central to Matthean theol-

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82 E.g. Chae 2004:321–24; Donaldson 1985:129; Lohfink 1983:276; Trilling 1964:136; cf. also discussion in ch. 7.

ogy, there is a more narrowly conceived vocation undertaken by the Messiah for which he has entered into the present age. This vocation is seen by Matthew as preparatory for the restoration that will take place in the age to come. The Messianic Shepherd-King motif has provided a framework for understanding this two-part vocation as we discovered in chapter 5 of this thesis in the analysis of Matthew 26:31–32. The narrower vocation has limited the scope of the phrase to a group within ideal Israel, without taking away from the national significance of the phrase.

On the basis of these observations, the story of the Canaanite woman, I contend, supports the interpretation of the phrase, "the lost sheep of the house of Israel" offered in the previous chapter while exposing greater geographic and political import.

8.4 Conclusion

The present chapter has ventured to interpret the phrase "the lost sheep of the house of Israel" in its second occurrence in the Gospel of Matthew. Toward that end, a procedure was followed that primarily focused on a study of the context of the Matthew 15:24 logion, since it was clear that Matthew had provided very little by way of direct evidence for an understanding of the meaning.

The study involved three concentric circles of context. Describing the process from the centre outward, the examination considered the logion in the context of (1) the story of the Canaanite woman, (2) the story of the Canaanite woman in the context of the narrative section and (3) the narrative section within the context of Matthew's large-scale narrative framework. Through a study of these contextual circles a series of parameters were established by which the number of possibilities for the meaning of the phrase could be significantly curtailed. The result of this work was the conclusion that the only plausible meaning for the phrase was one that had a nationalistic quality.

It was then concluded that although a solid argument could be made for the plausibility of the commonplace "all Israel" interpretation, the geographical orientation of the Matthean narrative points in a different direction. In view of the geographical perspective of Matthew's Gospel and given the Jewish scriptural background of the Messianic Shepherd-King considered in the earlier chapters of this thesis, I concluded that the interpretation offered in chapter 7, in the investigation of the first use of the phrase, was further supported by Matthew 15:24. Thus, the phrase "the lost sheep of the house of Israel" refers to the elements of the former Northern Kingdom of Israel who continued to reside in Galilee and the northern regions of *Eretz Israel*.

Chapter Nine

Conclusion

9.1 Summary of Argument and Conclusions

This book addressed the meaning of the phrase "the lost sheep of the house of Israel" within the unique logia of the Matthean Jesus (Matt 10:6; 15:24). The study sought to identify the group toward whom Jesus' and his disciples' mission were directed. In short, I wished to know, who were "the lost sheep of the house of Israel", according to Matthew's Gospel? While acknowledging that the phrase had been handled by interpreters in recent research, a handful of weaknesses with their treatment were identified. Furthermore, no study was found that tackled this important question head on.

In addressing the meaning of the unique Matthean phrase, an eclectic approach was taken which, among other things, included genre and composition criticism as well as audience-oriented criticism. With respect to the latter, using the theory of authorial audience, it was assumed that the author presupposed an audience that was capable of understanding and interacting with his composition. From this perspective, we assumed – given the evidence within the Gospel itself and the strong consensus among Matthean scholars – that the authorial audience closely resembled the real Jewish first-century readership of the Gospel.[1] In this respect, the audience would not only be capable of understanding the quotations, allusions and motifs from the Jewish Scriptures but also would be conversant with Jewish Messianic expectations.

Relating to the former, two Matthean perspectives influenced the direction of my research. In the first place, given that the Davidic Messiahship functioned as the touchstone for Matthew's conception of Jesus (see Matthew's opening line in 1:1), it was taken for granted that the phrase would find its most plausible explanation in the Jewish Messianism of the first century. Furthermore, in view of the variegated nature of Messianism in the first century, I believe that Matthew's stress on the royal identity of Jesus, especially in the opening narratives of the Gospel, discloses his interest in political-national matters. Together these speak of a Messianic mission with national implica-

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1   For similar approach see Carter 1994:205.

tions. In addition to Davidic Messianism, it is evident that Matthew conceived of Jesus as Israel's Shepherd-King. This is the obvious implication of texts like Matthew 2:6 and seems implied in the phrase itself: "the lost sheep of the house of Israel".

Thus, under the influence of the twin Matthean convictions that Jesus was the Davidic Messiah and Israel's Shepherd-King, a research project was constructed that first examined the Shepherd-King motif in its connection with Davidic Messianism. Chapter 2 traced the tradition of the Messianic Shepherd-King from its canonical origin in the Former Prophets and development in the prophetic literature into the literature of the Second Temple period. The conclusions from this branch of the research were two-fold. First, it was concluded that the motif functioned polemically by means of a despair/hope dichotomy. In every context in which the Messianic Shepherd-King tradition was explicitly used, the author expressed both protest against the present religio-political situation and idyllic visions of Messianic restoration. Second, without exception, the Davidic Shepherd-King motif in Messianic contexts carried political-national freight. The Messianic Shepherd-King motif expressed the undying hope of the future restoration of the political kingdom of Israel, a hope that was based on the authors' conviction about the eternal nature of the Davidic covenant. What is more, while not a widely used motif in the Second Temple period, the Messianic Shepherd-King motif did function significantly for at least one sectarian Jewish community in first-century Palestine, namely, the community who composed and edited the *Psalms of Solomon*. The motif functioned as a vehicle of hope for a political-national restoration of the kingdom of Israel and vital to the motif was the element of the territorial restoration of the Land of Israel.

Taking these conclusions as a baseline of comparison, as well as a context within which to place Matthew's composition, the next step of the research project was to inquire to what extent Matthew used the Shepherd-King motif and to what extent his use of it was in continuity with the conventional employment of the motif in Jewish Messianism. Given the limitations of the study, it was not in the interest of the research to consider the shepherd imagery broadly in Matthew. Moreover, in order to erect the surest of foundations for our conclusions, a method was formulated which when employed, would verify the presence of the Messianic Shepherd-King motif in a given Matthean passage. It is certainly possible that Matthew could have made use of the imagery of the Messianic Shepherd-King without the attending political-national implications, but our findings do not support such a supposition. To the contrary, in the three unambiguous uses of the Shepherd-King motif, Matthew not only retains the political-national consequence of the motif, but also the concomitant belief in the territorial restoration of *Eretz* Israel.

This conclusion was seen first in our study of Matthew 2:6 (ch. 3) where it appears that Matthew intensified the political and territorial aspects of the Shepherd-King motif in his formation of the quotations from Genesis 49:10, Micah 4:8 and 2 Samuel 5:2. The Shepherd-King motif is used by Matthew in 2:1–6 to introduce Jesus as the eschatological Davidide, the expected political leader of Israel, who will be shepherd (king) over the restored kingdom of Israel. In addition to Matthew 2:6, the political-national consequences of the motif were visible in Matthew 9:36 (ch. 4). In the context of the narrative prologue to the Mission Discourse (9:35–38), the phrase "sheep without a shepherd" signifies national Israel in a state of occupation, oppression and exile due to the absence of capable political leadership. The narrative makes the point that with the arrival of the Shepherd-King (Jesus) and his under-shepherds (the Twelve) the restoration of Israel's political kingdom along with its concomitant blessings has been inaugurated.[2] The political restoration, then, will be the remedy for the negative situation of God's people summed up with the epitaph "sheep without a shepherd".

Finally, the third explicit use of the Messianic Shepherd-King motif was examined in Matthew 26:31 (ch. 5). With the creation of a composite quotation of Zechariah 13:7 and Ezekiel 34:31, Matthew again intensifies the territorial aspect of the expectation. He uses the citation to reveal Jesus' role as the Shepherd-King in the establishment of the kingdom of Israel. Jesus' death and the subsequent dispersion of the flock is the means by which both a remnant of the nation and the Land will be purified and prepared for the eschatological kingdom. The function of the motif is to express the role of Jesus, the Davidic son, in preparing Israel for the kingdom that will appear at the end of the age.

In a singular chapter (ch. 6) an argument was made for the presence of an abiding hope for territorial restoration in Matthew's Gospel. In view of the consensus of scholarship on the question of Land in Matthew, such an argument seemed necessary in order to justify the conclusions of the previous chapters regarding a restoration with territorial dimensions. After briefly assessing the consensus, a survey of Second Temple perspectives on *Eretz* Israel was offered which led to the conclusion that a majority of law-observant Jews in the first century conceived of the Land not merely in its narrow Roman geopolitical borders, but in its ideal Davidic and Abrahamic proportions. In a final move, I argued that Matthew's Gospel betrays an interest in the Land through the presence of a Land-Kingdom motif. The motif refers to the equation that links the kingdom of God with the kingdom of Israel, an equation evident in Jewish texts that exist within the stream of "restorative Messianism".

These two areas of research form outer rings of a series of concentric circles within which the central issue of the thesis was considered (see introduc-

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2   See similarly Beaton 2002:195.

tion). The two outer rings formed a context within which the identity of "the lost sheep of the house of Israel" in Matthew 10:6 and 15:24 was examined. Taken together, the final two chapters (chs. 7–8) argued that "the lost sheep of the house of Israel" were remnants of the former Northern Kingdom of Israel located in rural Galilee and its environs. This provocative conclusion rested primarily on an analysis of Matthew 10:5b–6 where three points were observed. First, a narrative reading of Matthew attuned to the geographical indications of the account pointed to a referent which was (1) a political-national entity, (2) an important element in the expected restoration of Israel, (3) a group located in the northern region of the ideal Land, and (4) a body which formed an aspect of a concrete expectation of national restoration. Second, historically it can be plausibly asserted that there remained an abiding presence of Galilean Jews who were linked to the former Northern Kingdom. Furthermore, the meaning of the phrase "house of Israel" can be taken in both a wide and narrow sense. Given the geographical context of Matthew's narrative, oriented as it is in the northern region of the Land, it was argued that the phrase is best taken in the narrow sense for northern Israelites. Finally, the fresh hypothesis seems to better explain the restriction of Matthew 10:5 than previous attempts. From the perspective offered, the restriction should be understood as both geographic and ethnic, rather than one or the other.

The pericope of the Canaanite woman in Matthew 15:24 offered confirmation of the hypothesis by showing that the identity of the group behind the phrase had a nationalistic quality. While it was acknowledged that the commonplace interpretation of the "lost sheep" as "all Israel" was exegetically possible, the geographical orientation of Matthew's account of the exchange between the Canaanite woman and Jesus leads to the conclusion that a narrower group is in view. Furthermore, in light of the forgoing work on the Messianic Shepherd-King and the conclusions from the study of Matthew 10:6, it seems likely that "the lost sheep of the house of Israel" refers to elements of the former Northern Kingdom of Israel who continued to reside in Galilee and the northern regions of ideal Israel.

9.2 Contribution of Study

The argument and conclusions summarized above, if they are at all on the mark, lead to a discussion of several contributions this thesis might make to both Matthean studies specifically and New Testament studies more generally. The historically and geographically situated understanding of the identity of "the lost sheep of the house of Israel" is perhaps the most significant contribution. When Matthew's eschatology is placed firmly within a first-century Davidic Messianism on par with works like *Psalms of Solomon* 17 and the audi-

ence is assumed to be a Jewish one very much within Judaism (or perhaps just recently separated) and within the ideal Land of Israel, it takes on a geopolitical concreteness that has been under-appreciated by Matthean scholars. Matthew's use of the Messianic Shepherd-King tradition seems to reveal that one of his chief aims was a political-national critique of Israel's religio-political leadership and the promulgation of a belief in and hope for the restoration of the united Israel as a national entity under the leadership of the Davidic King Jesus.

In light of this historically situated first-century perspective, "the lost sheep of the house of Israel" toward whom the Matthean Jesus' earthly mission was directed was a geographically and ethnically limited group. In the first instance, then, Jesus' Messianic mission was only *indirectly* centred on Israel as a whole. Ultimately, of course, Israel's restoration in its totality was the target of Jesus' mission, but its realisation was to take place in stages.

First, Matthew presents a Messianic mission that is narrowly focused: a heralding of the coming restoration of the kingdom in the regions of the former Northern Kingdom (cf. chs. 7–8). In addition, within this first stage, Matthew portrays the pinnacle of the earthly activity of Jesus the Messiah in his atoning and purifying death which took place at the centre of Jewish life, Jerusalem (cf. ch. 5). This stage with its two-fold activity, perhaps unforeseen and unexpected by a majority of Israel, was for Matthew the necessary preparatory step toward that longed-for restoration of the whole of Israel; a restoration that would include the regathering of Jewish exiles back to Israel and the reconstitution of the Twelve tribe nation under the Davidic crown and blessing for the Gentiles.[3]

At the centre of Matthew's Gospel is the theme of Israel's total redemption – not simply spiritually or religiously, but *also* politically. This Israel-centric presentation with its geopolitical orientation will undoubtedly raise objections. These objections are perhaps compounded by the limitations of the thesis. In view of the constraints of purpose and space, detailed discussion of other central Matthean topics have to be left for later. However, since scholars have observed that in the latter portion of the Gospel no mention is made either of "the lost sheep of the house of Israel" or any geography (one would expect – a critic might charge – to find a reference to geography within the Eschatological Discourse of Matthew 24), and, not only does there seem to be a greater openness to Gentiles, but the Gospel seems to reach its climax in the borderless and inclusive Great Commission (Matt 28:16–20), at least some brief comment is necessary.[4] Hence, here I will briefly address these two significant

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3   See the similar view of Skarsaune (2003:7–8) concerning the Matthean interest in the restoration of the northern territory of Israel.

4   See for example Foster 2004.

topics: the *parousia* of the Son of Man in Matthew 24:29–31 and the Great
Commission in Matthew 28:16–20.

   An interpretation of Matthew 24:29–31 can be readily offered that is con-
sistent with my understanding of the mission of the Matthean Jesus to rem-
nants of the former Northern Kingdom called "the lost sheep of the house of
Israel". While Davies and Allison are quite right that this short passage "con-
stitutes the dramatic zenith of chapter 24",[5] there is no consensus on its inter-
pretation. It is not my intention to discuss the disputable points of interpreta-
tion here. I wish only to show that a reading of Matthew's Gospel that takes
the restoration of Israel's kingdom as the point of departure can make good
sense out of the *parousia* passage.

   Broadly speaking, Matthew 24:29–31 describes Israel's eschatological re-
demption. This interpretation is based both on Matthew's narrative and on the
well-known Jewish eschatological expectations out of which the language and
themes of this passage was formed. The former issue – that of Matthew's nar-
rative – needs no discussion here since the bulk of the thesis has been an at-
tempted to show that Matthew has political-national interests in his presenta-
tion of Jesus as Israel's Messianic Shepherd-King.

   The eschatological expectations, which were weaved together to make the
present passage, support the interpretation. Without attempting to be compre-
hensive it is possible to list several traditions noticed by scholars. Each of
these traditions supports the idea that this is a description of Israel's ultimate
restoration. First, in the depiction of the cosmic upheaval in 24:29 Matthew
apparently presents a "free conflation" of Isaiah 13:10 and 34:4 (cf. also Ezek
32:7; Joel 2:10–3:4; Amos 8:9).[6] It is readily observed that this apocalyptic
description is richly symbolic and represents the coming of eschatological
judgement on Israel's enemies. What is not often recognised, however, is that
in the context of the Jewish Scriptures these unusual cosmic events are the
initiation of the restoration of Israel; the judgement is in service to the redemp-
tion for Israel.

   Second, the "sign of the Son of Man" in 24:30 while its intention is vari-
ously construed, is consistently interpreted to be a reference to an "ensign"
signalling an eschatological event. It is difficult to determine whether the event
envisaged here is to be taken from texts such as Isaiah 49:22 (cf. also Isa
11:10–12) and its reference to the eschatological signal to the Gentiles to initi-
ate the return of Israel's exiles[7] or whether it is a reference to Isaiah 13:2–4
and a summons for battle.[8] Perhaps the former is the more persuasive option

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5   Davies and Allison 1997:358.
6   Carson 1995:504–05; Davies and Allison 1997:357–58; Gnilka 1992:328–29; Hagner 1995:
     713; Nolland 2005:982–83.
7   See Carson 1995:505; Gnilka 1992:330; Hagner 1995:713.
8   See Davies and Allison 1997:359–60.

given both the reference to the "tribes of the land/earth", the "trumpet call" and the clear reference to the regathering of the elect in 24:31.

Third, Matthew makes use of Zechariah 12:10–14 in the reference to "all the tribes of the land/earth" mourning, although it has proved to be difficult to interpret. Most commentators believe this phrase denotes all the people of the earth.[9] Scholars, acknowledge in Zechariah 12 the "tribes" is a reference to the "tribes of Israel" and the term "land" is a reference to the Land of Israel. Still, they assume Matthew has broadened the sense of the term in his context. The broader sense of the phrase perhaps finds support in Zechariah 14:17, where it is clear that the term γῆ refers more broadly to the earth and not the Land of Israel.[10]

Yet, the context does not *require* such an interpretation and a minority of voices have maintained that Matthew envisages more narrowly the tribes of Israel here.[11] In support of this interpretation is the Zechariah 12 context mentioned above as well as the immediate context of Matthew 24.

Making a determination between the two senses of the phrase is nearly impossible on exegetical grounds alone since both can be supported by the Jewish Scriptural background and the context of Matthew. What is more, for our purposes such a determination may not be necessary and we may be able at this point to leave the question open. Whether one takes the phrase to mean all the people of the earth or all the tribes of the land of Israel, two points remain true. One, the event will be visible by all given its cosmic scope. Two, the mourning of the tribes of the land/earth is related to the eschatological regathering of "his elect". While this group no doubt is comprised of Jew and Gentile in light of the Zechariah background, the regathering of the elect seems to be a reference to the eschatological reconstitution of the twelve tribes in the Land.

Finally, the trumpet call and the regathering of the elect alludes no doubt to Isaiah 27:13 which describes the eschatological Jubilee wherein the Jewish exiles return to the Land of Israel. While not specifically stated, there is an underlying assumption to this idea of the "gathering" in the text: there is a place from where the elect are gathered and a place to which they are being gathered. It seems quite likely that the authorial audience, who presumably share the author's eschatological outlook, would naturally assume a reference here to the Land of Israel and Jerusalem at its centre.[12]

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9   For example, Hagner (1995:714) states, "In keeping with Matthew's universal perspective, the tribes of the earth, which in the OT originally meant the tribes of Israel, are to be understood as all the nations of the earth".

10 Recently Nolland (2005:984) has suggested "the track" for the broadening of the sense in the context of Zechariah itself.

11 E.g. France 1971:236–39.

12 See likewise Stuhlmacher 2000:30.

This brief discussion has not by any means solved the host of interpretive issues in Matthew 24:29–31. Yet, it has shown that the Jewish eschatological traditions endemic to the passage support the ideas offered in this thesis. The restoration of the kingdom of Israel which the Matthean Jesus' mission both announced and inaugurated would be ultimately accomplished at the *parousia* of the Son of Man in the future.

In addition to the subject of the *parousia* of the Son of Man, the universal mission command of Matthew 28:16–20 deserves a brief discussion. Broadly speaking, I favour a progressive and developmental perspective on the theme of mission in the Gospel of Matthew. One might remember in the introduction, in the survey of recent research on the phrase, I presented the various ways in which the two mission commands have been explained. While there is a diversity of perspectives, I noted that a general consensus arose around a salvation-historical interpretation. The interpretation – perhaps best defended by Levine – contends that the mission to the "lost sheep of the house of Israel" was the first stage in a Matthean soteriology scheme. As Israel's Messiah, Jesus was surely to go first to Israel before turning to the Gentiles. The Israel-first perspective, it was asserted, showed that God was faithful to his promises to Israel. For some, it also serves Matthew's purpose of showing Israel's guilt and justified their judgement for rejecting their Messiah.

Several fundamental assumptions unify this line of thinking. First, the phrase "the lost sheep of the house of Israel" denotes an abstract entity Israel. Second, a new entity, the church, which is made of both Jews and Gentiles, replaces the abstract ethnic Israel as the recipients of God's promises. Third, the two mission commands (10:5–6 and 28:19–20) are identical with the latter only changing the horizon from a narrow mission to "Israel" to a mission to the nations (if Israel is present at all, it is only one nation among many). These assumptions are problematic and have shown the salvation-historical scheme's vulnerability. Furthermore, such weaknesses have led to a new direction in recent interpretation. We have already introduced the weaknesses and the new direction in the introduction and refer the reader there for more discussion. However, I wish to present a revised *complementarian* scheme accordant with the views of recent German scholarship, namely von Dobbeler and Wilk.[13]

One might recall that both von Dobbeler and Wilk presented the case that the two mission commands had different tasks and different aims. According to von Dobbeler, one task was the reconstitution of Israel and the other was the conversion of the nations to the living God. Thus, the missionary command of 28:19–20 did not replace or expand the prior command. Rather, both were abiding expressions of the Matthean Jesus' Messianic mission.

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13   See the discussion of the history of research in ch. 1 above.

While the general outline of this proposal is quite convincing, one aspect of it needs to be redressed in view of the present thesis. Both von Dobbeler and Wilk continue to understand the group characterised by the Matthean phrase "the lost sheep of the house of Israel" to be Israel in a generic and abstract sense. This construal, however, is unacceptable when placed in a contextual both within Matthew's Gospel and ancient Jewish eschatology as I have argued at length.

Within the parameters of the Gospel of Matthew, the mission of Jesus and his disciples to "the lost sheep of the house of Israel" is *particular, temporal and Galilean*. It is a mission to remnants of the Northern Kingdom within the Greater Galilean region who still lay in exile. In this sense there was *no* mission to "Israel" in some generic theological sense; no first stage in a salvation-history scheme. Thus, there is equally no replacement or expansion of that scheme with the Great Commission. If a difference in aims and tasks are granted, the second mission command should still be seen as a development or progression on the first, but not in a salvation-historical sense. While the death and resurrection of Jesus had epoch-making implications, it had as much to do with the restoration of Israel as with an unprecedented centrifugal Jewish mission to the Gentile nations.

To illuminate this perspective further, we must examine the text more carefully. An observation, which seems often under-appreciated, is the *consequent* nature of the command to make disciples of all Gentiles (28:19–20).[14] The grammatical relationship between 28:18 (note the οὖν, "therefore") and 28:19 suggests that the former proposition is the more fundamental of the two points; and, hence, the statement of kingship ("All authority in heaven and on earth has been given to me") is more correctly the climax of the Gospel.

The command to make disciples, no doubt, is the grand implication of the proposition – and the Gospel; yet, it is dependent on the reality of Jesus' universal kingship.[15] The statement in effect is the answer to the disciples' prayer in Matthew 6:10: "Your kingdom come, you will be done, *on earth as it is in heaven*". Now in the person of Jesus, the Davidic Messiah, God's kingdom, God's will *will* be done by the Messiah and through his Messianic community.

Stuhlmacher is correct, then, when he suggested the allusions to Daniel 7:13–14 are "not coincidental": "The Exalted Son of Man is the Κύριος πάντων, to whom πᾶσα ἐξουσία ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς is granted. *All* peoples of this world, without exception, must render homage to Him".[16] Yet this universal kingship does not undermine or supersede the kingship of Jesus

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14 Arguments such as Luz's concerning the meaning of the term ἔθνη seem more convincing than those that take the term as inclusive of Israel; see ch. 1 above.

15 Cf. Schnelle's (1998:230) "universal lordship of Jesus"; Skarsaune (2003:6–8) argues something very similar to this, although we arrive at these conclusions independent of each other.

16 Stuhlmacher 2000:27, emphasis his.

over Israel uniquely as the Davidic Messiah. YHWH and his royal son, according to Jewish Scripture, are at the same time king of Israel and king over the nations (cf. e.g. Deut 32:8–9; Psa 2; 82:8).

The mission to "the lost sheep of the house of Israel" conceived of as ten lost tribes of Israel may have continued in the post-resurrection period given certain clues from the Gospel, but such a conclusion is only an educated guess since the narrative constrains the reader to the lifetime of Jesus. From the narrative's perspective at least, the mission to "the lost sheep of the house of Israel" seems to have concluded with the Galilean activity of Jesus. What is more, Matthew's Gospel concludes with the grand implication of Jesus' earthly Messianic mission: *a Jewish mission to the nations.*

Related to the situatedness of the identity of "the lost sheep of the house of Israel" – the topic with which we began this section – a few additional contributions can be mentioned. The first is a more robust political-national understanding of Matthew's Messianism. Given the political interests of Matthew's narrative highlighted in the thesis, Matthew's Messianism collides with the concrete world of international politics and is far from a traditional "interalized, de-temporalized, de-historicized, coslogized, spiritualized, allegorized, mysticized, psychologized, philosophized, and sociologized"[17] understanding of the Messianic Kingdom. In light of this, my thesis fits comfortably within the latest discussions of Matthew and Empire. I would agree with W. Carter and others who have recently argued that Matthew's Gospel – at least at some level – serves as a critique of the ideology of first-century Roman imperialism. Yet, where I would wish to part ways with Carter is his understanding of the "irony" of Matthew. Carter observes that Matthew replaces Roman imperialism ironically, from his perspective, with another kind of imperialism, what one might call "Messianic imperialism". For Carter this is problematic given Matthew's egalitarian alternative and he encourages readers to critique Matthew *with Matthew*.[18]

I contend, however, that the replacement of foreign imperialism with Messianic imperialism seems to be exactly what Matthew intends and is fundamental to his portrait of Jesus as the climax of Israel's hope; God is redeeming Israel and his Davidic King is present to judge and rule with justice, peace, equity, mercy and benevolence. This is none other than the YHWH-sanctioned, righteous Messianic Empire. It is an Empire of a different order certainly, but no less an Empire in political-national terms.

This political-national Messianism leads to the related issue of Matthew's concept of the "kingdom of God". This thesis offered a fresh understanding of the kingdom of God in light of what was called the Land-Kingdom motif. Un-

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17   Buchanan 1970:55.
18   See Carter's discussion in 2001:176.

der this rubric the kingdom of God and the kingdom of Israel are coterminous. While this understanding is not unique to this author, it is a viewpoint that has had little effect in the broader discussions of the concept of "kingdom" in both Matthew and the New Testament.

A third contribution relating to a Matthean Land theology is implied in the previous points. The present thesis has shown that Matthew has an abiding hope for the territorial restoration of *Eretz* Israel. Furthermore, his conceptions of the boundaries of the Land are in accord with the widespread vision of the ideal borders of *Eretz* Israel. This perspective is not in step with the consensus of opinion on Matthew's Gospel specifically and New Testament theology more generally. Thus, if the argument of this thesis has any merit, the question of a New Testament Land theology will need to be considered anew.

It is likely that informed readers will question the assertion of a counter-Empire for which the kingdom of God is territorially coterminous with the kingdom of Israel because, it is assumed, we have no evidence that any ancient readers read Matthew this way. While on the face of it this seems like a weighty critique, it must be recognised that very little of the literary remains of Jewish Christianity are extant. The voices of those for whom the restoration of the nation of Israel under the Davidic crown would have been meaningful, were quelled very early in the history of the church. Still, there is perhaps hints of this kind of belief in the recent evidence of *Wirkungsgeschichte* on Matthew 28:19–20 found by O. Skarsaune. In the *Epistula Apostolorum*, a mid-second century text, the passage in Ethiopic is rendered this way:

> He answered and said to us, "Go you and preach to *the twelve tribes of Israel* and [preach also] to the Gentiles and Israel and *to the [whole] land of Israel towards East and West, North and South [from Sunrise to sunset and from South to North]*; and many will believe in me, the Son of God".[19]

Although there is no mention of a Davidic Kingdom here, the emphasis on the twelve tribes and the geographical interest in the whole Land of Israel is suggestive of an abiding Jewish belief in the restoration of Israel as a nation-state reconstituted politically and territorially. This would then be consistent with the view of Matthew I have offered here.

With respect to other areas of the Gospel of Matthew, two further contributions can be mentioned. First, the geographical orientation of Matthew's narrative was freshly highlighted in this thesis. The geographical approach to Matthew's narrative structure – an approach of a bygone era – was again utilised although with significant revision. To the mind of the author, the baby was thrown out with the bathwater, so to speak, when recent scholarship completely rejected geographical signals in their interpretation of the First Gospel.

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19 Brackets signify additions evidenced in the Coptic text. Quoted according to Schneemelcher 1991:267; also see Skarsaune 2003:7.

Furthermore, even narrative approaches have been slow to recognize the important geographical orientation of Matthew and its relationship to ancient Jewish Messianic expectations.

Second, Matthew's use of the Jewish Scriptures was a significant aspect of the present work. In two different chapters particular scriptural quotations were carefully examined. In both cases, it was concluded that the difference in Matthew's text-type in comparison with all known others might have to do with a propensity to create composite quotations out of the mergence of various citations from Jewish Scripture. This exegetical technique might go a long way toward explaining some of the perceived oddities of Matthew's text-types.

Finally, as I stated in the introduction, the thesis does not further our understanding of the so-called Historical Jesus, at least in the first instance. Given both the methodological parameters of this study and the assumptions related to the "real" audience, what this work may conclude, however, is the presence of a Jewish nationalism within at least one stream of Jewish Christianity of the mid to late first century. It was a Jewish nationalism which contained territorial and political aspirations, but at the same time understood Gentile inclusion to be the ultimate consequence of its own national realisation.

9.3 Areas for Further Research

In addition to a discussion of the contributions of the thesis, we should briefly treat areas that commend themselves for further research. The contributions listed in the previous section, if they prove substantial, would require that key questions in Matthean studies be considered anew. Topics for careful consideration include the role of Israel, the nature of the church, the meaning of Jesus death and resurrection, the place of geography in the Gospel, Matthean eschatology and the role of the disciples–just to name several.

An additional Matthean topic for further research is the well-worn question of the meaning of the kingdom in Matthew, the Gospels and the New Testament. In addressing the Land-Kingdom motif this thesis just scratched the surface of the study of the kingdom of God in Matthew and that is to say nothing of the other Gospels and New Testament. If the approach outlined in this thesis has any merit or potential, references to the kingdom of God in the Gospels and the New Testament must be looked at afresh. Studies should take better account of the place of Land or "realm" in the kingdom formulations, especially in texts in which the Davidic expectations function significantly.

A further potentially fruitful area of further inquiry is the subject of the Matthean community and early Jewish Christianity. The contributions listed above suggest nationalism and an interest in the Land in early Jewish Christi-

anity. It would be very interesting to investigate whether there is evidence of an abiding nationalism and hope for territorial restoration in the documentary fragments left behind by the Jewish believers in Jesus. I am already aware of work being done in just these kinds of areas at the Society of Biblical Literature's newly formed Jewish Christianity group[20], as well as in a recent book edited by O. Skarsaune and R. Hvalvik called *A History of Jewish Believers in Jesus: The First Five Centuries*.[21]

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20   A paper was offered at the annual meeting in 2005 in Philadelphia by B. Johnson on the *Concept of Land in Jewish Christianity*.
21   Skarsaune and Hvalvik 2007; cf. also Skarsaune 2003:7–8.

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